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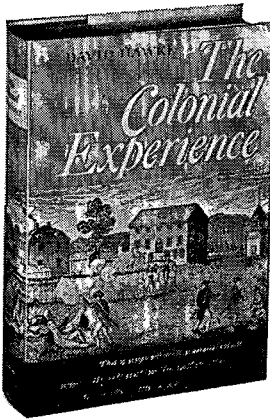
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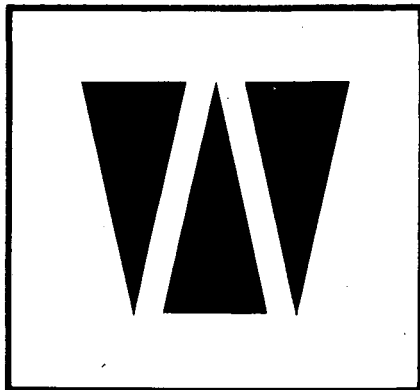
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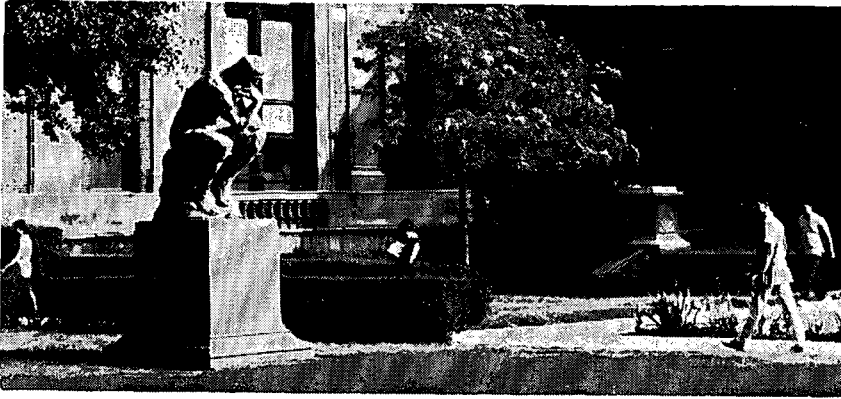
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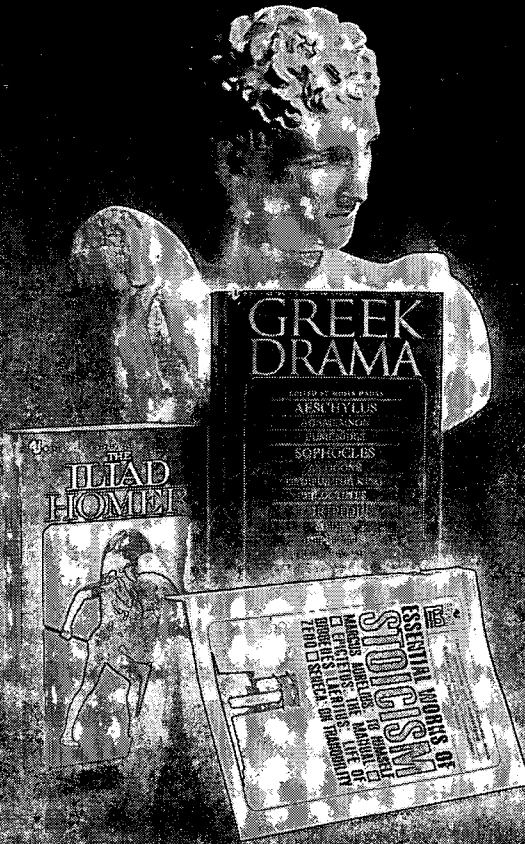
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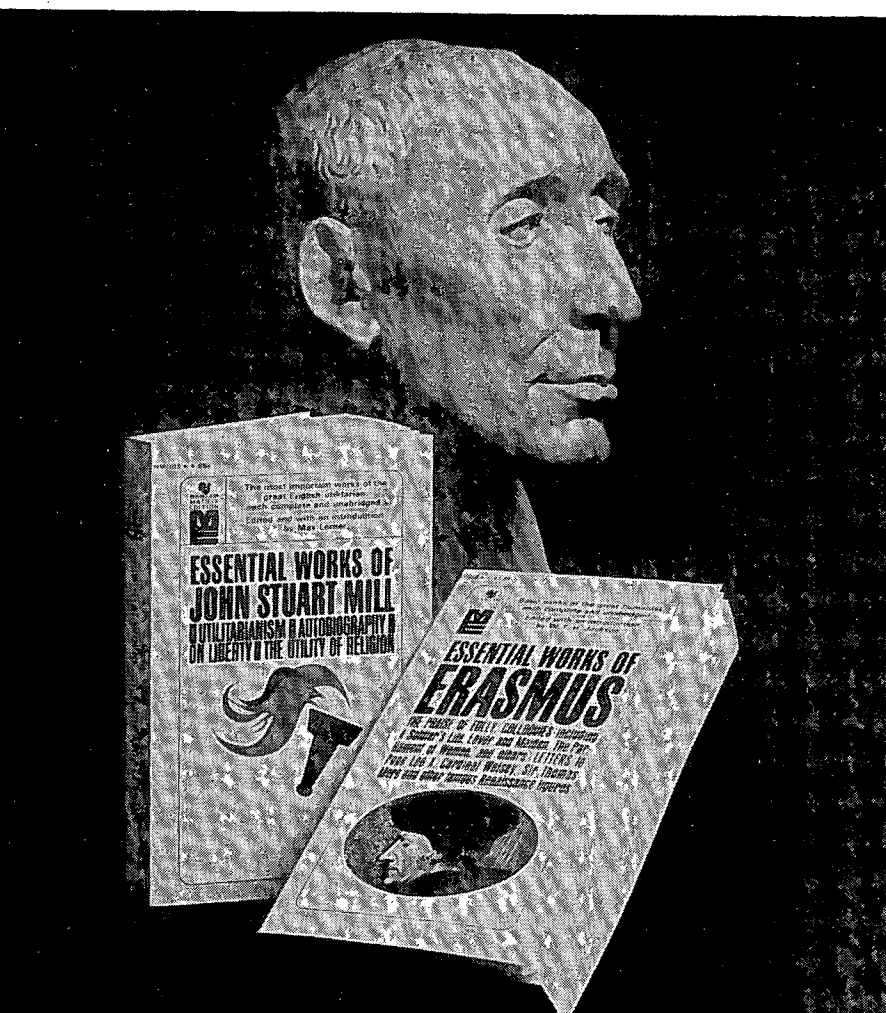




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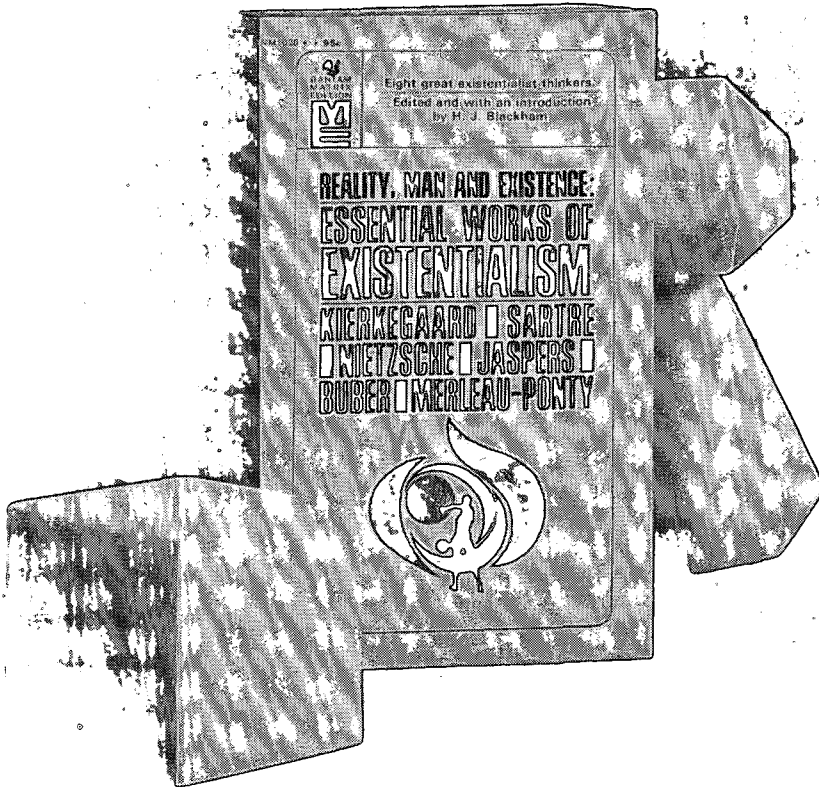
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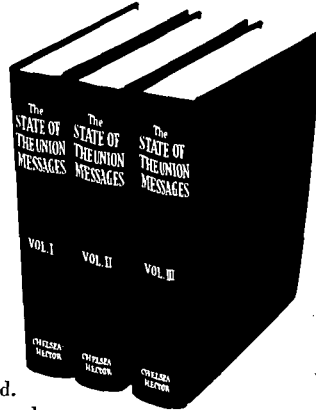
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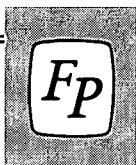
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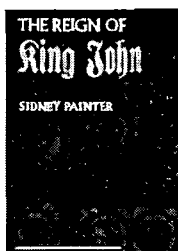
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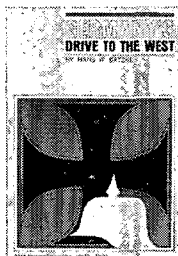
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Quantification in History

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE*

OVER the past generation a number of historians have recognized that counting, when circumstances permit it, may assist in the explanation of a limited class of historical problems. The historical monographs in which quantitative methods have been used are already sufficiently numerous so that a review of them would require an article by itself. The purpose here is not to survey this literature but, instead, to raise several general questions related to it. Professional opinion regarding the value of quantification for history has been rather less than unanimous, and discussion of the subject has occasionally been acrimonious. There have also been a few misunderstandings. I wish to consider here what is involved in trying to apply quantitative methods to history, what kinds of results may be expected, and what difficulties lie in the way. Though I shall say something about the advantages of quantification, I am also, in a sense, concerned to speak against it and to make clear the problems it presents. My own approach to the subject is

* A professor at the University of Iowa, Mr. Aydelotte is interested primarily in modern British history. He has written, among other things, "Voting Patterns in the British House of Commons in the 1840s," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, V (Jan. 1963).

conservative and skeptical, and at times I feel that the current fad for quantification has been pushed too far. In any case, the exploration of the limitations of a method is an effective device for revealing its characteristic features.

The principal value of quantification for the study of history, stated in the simplest terms, is that it provides a means of verifying general statements. Some historians, of course, disclaim any intention of making such statements and insist that the business of a historian is not to generalize but to tell a story. Such a view can hardly be seriously entertained as a description of the objectives of all historians, for it manifestly does not apply to the work of a number of eminent members of the profession. One might question, indeed, whether any historian can avoid generalizing altogether.¹ It is an idle task, however, to attempt a formal prescription of a historian's duties. If some wish to emphasize narrative more than others, there is no reason why they should not. History is what historians do, and they do different things. It would be presumptuous to dismiss any of their objectives as being in some fashion improper. The day of a single methodology in history, if it ever existed, is at any rate now gone. In a discipline where there are at present so much upheaval, reassessment of methods and values, and introduction of new approaches, it seems better to say that anything historians do is useful if it can be shown to be useful.

For historians who do wish to generalize, however, quantitative methods can offer certain advantages. Generalizations are implicitly quantitative in character, even though this may not always be clearly brought out. As Lee Benson says, historians who use words like "typical," "representative," "significant," "widespread," "growing," or "intense" are making quantitative statements whether or not they present figures to justify their assertions. Unfortunately, not all historians seem to realize the need to check general statements. Benson complains, in the same passage, of "the impressionistic approach long dominant in American historiography,"² and I have occasionally been bothered by this kind of thing in my own field. Historians justly pride themselves on their techniques of verification, which have become in some areas highly sophisticated. It seems fair to say, however, that these techniques have more often been applied to individual bits of information than to broader statements. Some writers, after a precise descrip-

¹ The eleven contributors to a recent volume of essays on this subject, as the editor states in his summary: "all agree that the historian willy-nilly uses generalizations at different levels and of different kinds." (*Generalization in the Writing of History*, ed. Louis Gottschalk [Chicago, 1963], 208; see also, on this point, Alfred Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* [Cambridge, Eng., 1964], 5-7.)

² Lee Benson, "Research Problems in American Political Historiography," in *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences*, ed. Mirra Komarovsky (Glencoe, Ill., 1957), 117.

tion of a few cases, will proceed to generalize blithely about the motives of large groups of men even though the evidence to support their views is often not presented and, indeed, would be hard to come by, for the motives of most men are obscure and not easy to discern. To an uncritical audience several concrete illustrations may carry more conviction than a statistical table. Yet to support an argument by only a few examples, though it may be a persuasive rhetorical device, is not logically adequate. There are exceptions to most historical generalizations, and, if the citation of occasional instances were accepted as proof, it would be possible to prove almost anything.

Quantitative methods, the numerical summary of comparable data, make it possible, in some cases, to avoid these pitfalls. The condensation of data by such means, when it is clearly legitimate, constitutes a saving of time and a convenience in that it makes the information easier to describe and to handle. It also helps to ensure a greater degree of accuracy. Memory is selective, and general impressions are notoriously untrustworthy. When the data are so numerous that they cannot all be kept clearly in mind at once, the investigator is likely to remember best the cases that fit his own preconceptions or his pet hypotheses. An orderly presentation of the evidence in quantitative form helps the student to escape the tricks that his memory plays upon him. Quantitative analyses are, of course, gratuitous when the number of cases is small, when the student is concerned with only a few men or, perhaps, one man, and when the general tenor of the materials can be immediately grasped. As the data become more numerous, however, a systematic arrangement of them becomes the more desirable. There are, indeed, some questions, of which examples will be given presently, which could hardly be attacked without the use of methods of this kind.

A quantitative presentation of the available information can help to direct the student's attention to the questions most worth investigating. Since it brings the whole of the evidence, on the point it covers, into intelligible focus, the general character of the findings can be more readily perceived and relationships and differences emerge that could not so easily have been observed without this reduction of the data. Such an analysis reveals what events or issues were of special interest, in the sense of involving change through time or departure from the norm, and hence might particularly repay investigation. It can, in this manner, help in defining or restating the historical problem to be studied.

Beyond this, a quantitative analysis offers a systematic means of testing hypotheses. It establishes how many examples there are to support each side

of the argument and thus reveals not only the main features of the evidence but also, more important, the exceptions to them, the nuances, the degree to which the emerging generalizations need to be qualified. Measurement locates the defect in the original hypothesis and registers "the departure from theory with an authority and finesse that no qualitative technique can duplicate." A quantitative discrepancy between theory and observation is obtrusive. "No crisis is . . . so hard to suppress as one that derives from a quantitative anomaly that has resisted all the usual efforts at reconciliation."³

The general overview of the whole evidence obtained by quantitative means can also be a powerful stimulus toward the reformulation of one's ideas. When anomalies occur, the student can direct his attention to the cases that do not fit the original theory, try to find out why they are exceptional, and, by rearrangements of the data, test alternative hypotheses that may account for a larger proportion of the evidence. Such manipulations of the data would take an immense amount of time to do by hand, but, ordinarily, they can readily be performed by machines. I advise my students, if they are working with fifty cases or more, to punch the information. This is easily done, and, once it is done, there is no great difficulty about trying additional correlations. By the same token a quantitative analysis can even, in some cases, point the way to the formulation of new hypotheses that will make the findings more intelligible.

The case for quantification might be made in still a different way by saying that it is a method of reasoning, one that involves number. As one of my colleagues at the University of Iowa has put it, quantification adds, to whatever factual or historical premises may have been established, the premises of mathematics as well. "Arithmetic is a vast treasure house of additional premisses, or, what amounts to the same thing, of patterns of deductive inference. Quantification is the key to the treasure."⁴

The advantages of this approach have been appreciated by a number of present-day historians. G. Kitson Clark suggests as appropriate advice to someone who wishes to generalize about a group or a class: "do not guess, try to count, and if you can not count admit that you are guessing."⁵ Lawrence Stone writes: "Owing to the obstinate perversity of human nature, it would no doubt be possible in England of 1958 to find, if one tried, declining manual labourers and rising landed gentry. To have any validity at all, conclusions about social movements must have a statistical basis."⁶

³ Thomas S. Kuhn, "The Function of Measurement in Modern Physical Science," in *Quantification: A History of the Meaning of Measurement in the Natural and Social Sciences*, ed. Harry Woolf (Indianapolis, 1961), 50, 52.

⁴ Gustav Bergmann, *Philosophy of Science* (Madison, Wis., 1957), 69.

⁵ G. Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England* (London, 1962), 14.

⁶ Lawrence Stone, letter to editor, *Encounter*, XI (July 1958), 73.

Applications of quantitative techniques to historical materials have, in some cases, materially advanced the discussion of major problems. Monographs on the composition of the British House of Commons, which are now fairly numerous and cover a span of six centuries, have brought to light significant continuities and changes in the social structure of the British political elite. Crane Brinton, in his well-known quantitative study of the members of the Jacobin Clubs, reached the conclusion that the Jacobins represented "a complete cross-section of their community" and that: "The Jacobins of 1794 were not a class, and their enemies the 'aristocrats' were not a class; the Terror was not chiefly then a phase of the class-struggle, but even more a civil war, a religious war."⁷ Donald Greer, on the basis of a quantitative analysis of the victims of the Terror, argued that the lower classes, by the definitions he used, supplied 70 per cent of the victims and the upper classes less than 30 per cent and that: "The split in society was perpendicular, not horizontal. The Terror was an intra-class, not an inter-class, war."⁸ From the researches of Brinton, Greer, and others, crude class theories about the French Revolution have received a setback. Revisions have also been made in accepted views about American history. Richard P. McCormick published in the *American Historical Review* a set of tables, drawn from readily available election statistics, on the basis of which he was able to show that the great popular turnout of 1824 was a myth and that: "In the 1824 election not a single one of the eighteen states in which the electors were chosen by popular vote attained the percentage of voter participation that had been reached before 1824." His finding contradicts the assertion he quotes from a standard text that, in the period before 1824, "only small numbers of citizens seem to have bothered to go to the polls." It contrasts also with Charles and Mary Beard's colorful statement that, by 1824, "the roaring flood of the new democracy was now foaming perilously near the crest . . ." and with Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s reference to the "immense popular vote" received by Jackson in 1824.⁹ Albert Ludwig Kohlmeier, using statistical data on canal and riverboat traffic, was able to show when and how rapidly the trade of the Old Northwest shifted away from the South and to the Northeast.¹⁰ Stephan Thernstrom, by a quantitative analysis based largely

⁷ Clarence Crane Brinton, *The Jacobins: An Essay in the New History* (New York, 1930), 70-72.

⁸ Donald Greer, *The Incidence of the Terror during the French Revolution: A Statistical Interpretation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), 97-98.

⁹ Richard P. McCormick, "New Perspectives on Jacksonian Politics," *American Historical Review*, LXV (Jan. 1960), 288-301, esp. 289-91; Richard Hofstadter *et al.*, *The American Republic* (2 vols., New York, 1959), I, 391; Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (new ed., 2 vols., New York, 1931), I, 550; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1945), 36.

¹⁰ Albert Ludwig Kohlmeier, *The Old North-West as the Keystone of the Arch of American Federal Union: A Study in Commerce and Politics* (Bloomington, Ind., 1938).

on census records, exploded various familiar hypotheses about social mobility in a Massachusetts town in the later nineteenth century.¹¹ Quantitative presentations have formed the basis for substantial generalizations by an impressive group of additional historians including Thomas B. Alexander, Bernard and Lotte Bailyn, Allan G. Bogue, Jean Delumeau, Robert W. Fogel, Frank L. Owsley, Lawrence Stone, Charles Tilly, Sylvia L. Thrupp, and Sam B. Warner, Jr.¹² This list of examples could be considerably extended.

These results have often been achieved by fairly simple methods; for much historical research the quantitative procedures required are not complex. Historians do not ordinarily need to deal with problems of statistical inference in which an attempt is made to ascertain the characteristics of a large population by inspection of relatively small samples. Their work is usually limited to the easier task of descriptive statistics in which the object is to portray the characteristics of a group, all members of which have been studied, and to correlate some of these characteristics with each other. The computations needed for this are not ambitious. All that is generally required are a few totals, a few percentages, and a few correlations in which the relationship between certain variables is examined while other variables are controlled. This is a simple matter mathematically, although the research may be laborious, and it is simple mechanically as well. Even so modest a use of quantitative methods can sometimes produce results of great interest and can be used to test historical generalizations of some scope on which there has heretofore been scholarly disagreement. Since only a limited amount of such research has been done, much gold is still near the surface. It may turn out, however, that richer veins lie deeper. Though it has proved extremely useful to classify, arrange, and summarize the available information, it may be even more rewarding—to judge from some of the ventures that

¹¹ Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).

¹² Thomas B. Alexander *et al.*, "Who Were the Alabama Whigs?" *Alabama Review*, XVI (No. 1, 1963), 5-19; Thomas B. Alexander and Peggy J. Duckworth, "Alabama Black Belt Whigs during Secession: A New Viewpoint," *ibid.*, XVII (No. 3, 1964), 181-97; Bernard and Lotte Bailyn, *Massachusetts Shipping, 1697-1714: A Statistical Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); Allan G. Bogue, *From Prairie to Corn Belt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, 1963); Jean Delumeau, *L'alun de Rome, xv^e-xix^e siècle* (Paris, 1962), and *Le mouvement du port de Saint-Malo à la fin du xvii^e siècle, 1681-1700* (Rennes, 1962); Robert William Fogel, *Railroads and American Economic Growth: Essays in Econometric History* (Baltimore, 1964); Frank Lawrence Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1949); Lawrence Stone, "The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640," *Past and Present*, XXVIII (July 1964), 41-80, and *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford, Eng., 1965); Charles Tilly, *The Vendée* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300-1500* (Chicago, 1948); Sam B. Warner, Jr., *Street-car Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).

have already been made—to attempt more complex methods of descriptive statistical analysis by the use, for example, of mathematical models or of scaling techniques.¹³

Although substantial and interesting work has been done along these lines, much more could be attempted. Historians who have used quantitative methods have been timid in their application of them and have come nowhere near exploiting their full potentialities. Also, many historians who deal with problems for which such methods might be helpful have not tried to use them at all. Economic history is, perhaps, an exception. This field is naturally suited to quantitative research since many of the original data come in quantified form, the problems and hypotheses tend to assume a quantified shape, and, in the field of economics, theoretical analysis is more advanced. In political and social history, however, opportunities have been missed. Though the area of historical research to which these methods can be applied may be limited, it has certainly not yet been fully explored.

Furthermore, much hostility to quantitative methods still remains among some members of the historical profession. Despite what might seem the obvious advantages of these methods for certain kinds of problems, despite their notably successful application in many historical projects, and despite their long acceptance as a matter of course in several related disciplines, some historians still object to them vociferously and consider them altogether inappropriate for historical research. Questions have been raised regarding: (1) the value of the work that has been done; (2) the feasibility of this approach in view of the admittedly limited materials available to historians; (3) the reliability of the results obtained by these techniques; and (4) the usefulness or significance of the results. These objections are not wholly without foundation. It would be pointless to deny either the limitations of the method or the lapses of some of its practitioners. To concede this, however, is not to tell the whole story.

(1) Certainly the ventures of historians into this kind of research have not been uniformly fortunate. Some of these studies, far from revolutionizing historical thought, have themselves not stood the test of time and have been shown to contain imperfections of method, which, to some extent, vitiate

¹³ On the use of models, see the review of the work of Harold Hotelling and others and the further discussion of this problem in Donald E. Stokes, "Spatial Models of Party Competition," *American Political Science Review*, LVII (June 1963), 368-77. On scaling techniques, see Duncan MacRae, Jr., *Dimensions of Congressional Voting: A Statistical Study of the House of Representatives in the Eighty-first Congress* (Berkeley, Calif., 1958), and "Intraparty Divisions and Cabinet Coalitions in the Fourth French Republic," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, V (Jan. 1963), 164-211; William O. Aydelotte, "Voting Patterns in the British House of Commons in the 1840s," *ibid.*, 134-63.

their conclusions. It would be unfair to mention individual monographs without a more extended discussion of their arguments than is possible in this paper. I shall have occasion to describe some of the statistical solecisms committed by a few workers in my own field in separate articles on special topics. In general, it has been contended, sometimes plausibly, that a number of the pioneers in quantitative historical research overlooked certain elementary precautions. They did not, it is said, always appreciate or remember that a sample that is small and, hence, biased or unrepresentative may distort the results, that percentages should be figured in terms of what is hypothesized to be the independent variable, that a conscientious search should be made for all possible relevant variables (though it is unlikely that they can all be found), that failure to make such a search may produce spurious correlations, or that refinements of technique cannot compensate for the inaccuracy or incompleteness of the original data. Doubtless the application of quantitative techniques to history has not paid off as well as might have been expected because of the statistical naïveté of a few of those who first tried it. To say this, however, is not to disparage quantitative methods. On the contrary, these are exactly the errors that an experienced statistician would not commit, and they arise not from an overemphasis but from an underemphasis on accepted statistical procedures. It may not be unreasonable to expect that simple technical errors of this kind will occur less frequently in the future as a new generation of historians becomes more alert to what is needed for this type of work.

(2) A more serious objection is that quantitative techniques may not be feasible at all in history, or can be used only within narrow limits, because of the complexity of historical materials and the restrictions on historical knowledge. It is difficult to get accurate information, for the sources may prove inconsistent or unreliable. Also the task of correctly recording so great a mass of data is more arduous than is likely to be believed by anyone who has not tried it; the natural proclivity of almost all men to error, to incorrect observation, has been repeatedly shown by experiment. Beyond this, however, there are formidable problems of taxonomy. A given body of data can generally be classified in any of many different ways, and skill and experience are needed to choose the categories that will prove most useful. Unfortunately it may not become apparent which these are until one is well into the research and it is too late to change. It is also no easy matter to make the categories precise and clearly distinguishable from one another. The existing vocabulary of social history is inexact, and many of the terms in common usage are too vague to permit unequivocal classification of the data.

To give one example, problems of this kind have, according to a recent review article, bedeviled research on the supposed conflict of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie during the French Revolution. The ambiguities in the definitions of these terms have had the result that:

the central doctrine of the class struggle between bourgeois and aristocrats can now only be accepted as an act of faith; for no two people can agree on who the bourgeois and the aristocrats were; no one can formulate (and few even try to formulate) a criterion for distinguishing between them that can be followed consistently, and every argument is thus liable to be at variance with easily ascertainable facts.¹⁴

Similar problems arise, of course, in the social history of other countries. If a historian tries to distribute a group of men among conventional categories of this kind, borderline cases may necessitate so many subjective judgments that the resulting classifications will not be worth much. No amount of *expertise* in the manipulation of the figures will make adequate correction for imprecision in the original data or for categories that do not adequately measure what it is claimed that they measure. A quantitative approach does not of itself ensure accuracy. Jeremy Bentham's "felicific calculus" was set forth in quantitative terms, but it is not generally regarded as a precise conceptual scheme. There is a danger, in this kind of work, of a spurious precision—giving the results, to several decimal places, of calculations based on incorrect original assumptions. If the classifications used at the start are worthless, the computations based upon them will be equally so, no matter how many times they are passed through the computer, and the situation will develop which is known in the trade as "GIGO": "garbage in and garbage out."

Furthermore, historical information is restricted. Historians who seek to use quantitative methods are, in comparison to those working with contemporary affairs, at a disadvantage. It is difficult—and the difficulty generally increases with the remoteness of the period studied—to obtain relevant data for a large enough sample of the group or "population" under consideration to make a quantitative presentation useful and effective. It is feasible, for example, to study the composition of the British House of Commons in recent centuries, though the task becomes harder as one goes back in time, but it might be less rewarding to attempt an analysis of the personnel of Justinian's army.

¹⁴ Betty Behrens, "'Straight History' and 'History in Depth': The Experience of Writers on Eighteenth-Century France," *Historical Journal*, VIII (No. 1, 1965), 125; see Greer's comments on the ambiguities of his own categories, in *Incidence of the Terror*, 88–96; for a more extended discussion of these problems, see Cobban, *Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*, Chaps. III, VI, VIII–XIV.

Even some of the historians who have made conspicuously successful use of these methods complain frequently about the inadequacy of the sources with which they had to work. Brinton found the membership lists of the Jacobin Clubs incomplete, a problem heightened by the considerable turnover in membership, while the occupations of some Jacobins were not listed and the occupations of others were described in ambiguous terms. He insists that part of his information does not "have even the relative accuracy possible in a study of contemporary demography."¹⁵ Greer speaks of "the impossibility of determining with any degree of exactitude the total death roll of the Terror."¹⁶ Owsley found that the tax lists for many large areas of the South had not survived, while the census reports, besides being less accurate as a rule than the tax lists, were seriously incomplete except for the latter part of the ante bellum period.¹⁷ Warner found rich statistical materials surviving for nineteenth-century Boston, but noted that city, state, and federal counts did not agree with each other and added the warning that: "The presence of substantial errors in the census requires the local historian to use census data with the same sophistication he would use any other source. The past tendency to check writings of individuals against other sources but to accept statistics as *prima facie* fact must be abandoned."¹⁸

Even in cases of groups for which quantitative methods can to some extent be used, it is not always possible to employ tests of sufficient refinement to verify what appear to be the most significant hypotheses. Benson, in his discussion of Beard's interpretation of the battle over the Constitution, has suggested that "we are likely to progress further if we group men, not according to their 'economic interests,' but according to various other things including, for example, 'their values, their beliefs, their symbols, their sense of identity.'"¹⁹ Yet it may not be easy to obtain this kind of information for all or most members of a population of any size removed at some distance in time. It could, perhaps, be found for a few individuals on whom detailed information can be gathered from their correspondence and papers, but in statistics arguing from a few not necessarily representative examples is the great heresy. Doubtless more can be done than has always been realized, and, in another book, Benson has applied imagination and ingenuity to available materials, to draw impressive and persuasive inferences on some of

¹⁵ Brinton, *Jacobins*, 48-51, 57-58.

¹⁶ Greer, *Incidence of the Terror*, 37.

¹⁷ Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 150-51.

¹⁸ Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs*, 173-74.

¹⁹ Lee Benson, *Turner and Beard: American Historical Writing Reconsidered* (Glencoe, Ill., 1960), 169-70.

these difficult matters.²⁰ It can scarcely be denied, however, that these are obdurate questions, and anyone who tries to solve them has his work cut out for him; ingenuity can carry only a limited distance. For many groups in the past the kind of information needed to make such tests, much of it at least, has long since disappeared and is now irretrievable.

Clearly, formal statistical presentations are feasible only for a limited range of historical problems. The available information may be insufficient or may contain ambiguities that make it difficult to summarize in intelligible categories. Nothing is to be gained by pretending otherwise or by attempting to force the use of these methods beyond where evidence will carry. Frank Knight once observed that the dictum attributed to Lord Kelvin—"If you cannot measure, your knowledge is meagre and unsatisfactory"—has in practice been translated into the injunction: "If you cannot measure, measure anyhow."²¹ This, of course, would be a counsel of darkness. Whether quantitative methods will be helpful on a given problem is a matter not of rule but of the strategy of research.

Though these difficulties are substantial, it would be a gross distortion to regard them as insuperable. Taxonomic problems vary in incidence, and it is mistaken to suppose that all subjects are equally difficult to quantify. Social categories may be tricky, but other kinds of information, such as votes in a legislative body, can be tabulated with some assurance. Economic and demographic data have been handled quantitatively with success for some time.

Even in the study of social history it has sometimes proved possible, as it has in scientific investigation,²² to advance the argument by jettisoning subjective definitions and adopting objective ones, by disregarding earlier concepts that were too vaguely defined to admit of measurement, and by concentrating instead on categories that could be unmistakably specified—not "aristocrats," but peers and their sons; not "gentry," but men included by John Burke in his reference work *The Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*; not "businessmen," but men engaged in certain ways in certain types of business. Whether these more sharply defined categories correspond accurately to the old categories is a question that cannot be answered since the old ones are so indefinite that they cannot be said to correspond accu-

²⁰ *Id.*, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* (Princeton, N. J., 1961), Chaps. XII–XIV.

²¹ Kuhn, "Measurement," 31, 34; remarks by Frank H. Knight in *Eleven Twenty-Six: A Decade of Social Science Research*, ed. Louis Wirth (Chicago, 1940), 169. The quotation ascribed to Kelvin appears on the façade of the Social Science Building at the University of Chicago. Kuhn has been unable to find these exact words in Kelvin's writings, though Kelvin expressed the idea more than once in slightly different language.

²² See the discussion of the development of the concept "degree of heat" in Kuhn, "Measurement," 58–59.

ately to anything. One cannot, by using the new categories, effectively test propositions couched in terms of the old ones. Such propositions cannot, indeed, be tested at all, for an imprecise or slipshod formulation is impregnable; a statement that has no exact meaning cannot be disproved. What is feasible, however, is to study a group or an entity that might be conjectured to correspond somewhat to the old and loosely defined concept but that at least has the virtue that it can be identified. The investigator must, of course, assume the burden of showing that his new categories are viable and useful. The great step forward is to take the objective or unequivocal definition as the norm, as describing the entity that will be subjected to analysis, and to demote the subjective or vague concept to a subordinate position, to appreciate that, though it may serve as a useful starting point in the formulation of an operational definition, it may also contain variables that are difficult to measure or even to identify and that it cannot, therefore, be handled in any conclusive fashion. By this procedure one at least knows where one stands, and the problems of social measurement may become less intractable.

Nor is the argument about limitations on historical knowledge really convincing. No doubt much valuable information has been lost. It is clear enough, however, that historical materials that lend themselves to quantitative research, even if they do not cover everything, are enormously abundant. Some great storehouses of information such as census records and tax records are still relatively unused, except by a few pioneers. Other rich sources such as recorded votes in legislative bodies have been used only in a desultory and sporadic fashion, and much more could be done with them. Ample materials exist for collective biographies of groups of prominent individuals, and in some cases obscure ones too; for the economic and demographic characterization of constituencies; and for ascertaining the relationship of the facts unearthed in such investigations to political choice.²³ Evidence is particularly rich for social and political history, two areas in which quantitative methods have not been extensively attempted.

Furthermore, it has proved possible, again and again, to describe in quantitative terms things that were formerly thought to fall beyond the reach of this net. Matters that seemed to an earlier generation unquantifiable can sometimes be caught and measured by a change in approach or by reaching a clearer perspective concerning what it may be most profitable to measure.

²³ An extended account of the work that has been done and that might be attempted along this line in American history has been given by Samuel P. Hays in "New Possibilities for American Political History: The Social Analysis of Political Life," a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association in December 1964; see also *id.*, "Archival Sources for American Political History," *American Archivist*, XXVIII (Jan. 1965), 17-30.

This applies, for example, to the study of attitudes, a field in which notable advances have been made over the last several decades. David Hume, speaking through the mouth of Philo, a man of "careless scepticism," argued that "controversies concerning the degrees of any quality or circumstance" can never "reach a reasonable certainty or precision." Thus, he says, it is impossible to settle how great a general Hannibal was or "what epithet of praise Livy or Thucydides is entitled to . . . because the degrees of these qualities are not, like quantity or number, susceptible of any exact mensuration, which may be the standard in the controversy."²⁴ Even if we cannot measure qualities of excellence, however, we can perfectly well measure opinions about them, which are all we have to go on anyway, and this is done all the time with questionnaires. Similarly, ways have been found to measure degrees of liberalism and conservatism by indexes in which men have come to place some reliance, or degrees of attachment to a particular cause or principle, or degrees of interest or apathy regarding political questions, or even degrees of patient welfare in a hospital. It has been possible to do this last by a set of objective tests that fit into a cumulative scale and that have turned out to be reliable and consistent.²⁵

Recent quantitative research in history contains several examples of a tour de force of this kind, attempts—fairly convincing attempts—to measure what previously seemed impossible to measure. One is the effort of Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer to appraise the profitability of slavery and the efficiency of the slave labor market in the American South before the Civil War. It would be difficult to summarize here their complex and rather technical analysis, but it is interesting that their conclusions tell strongly against the long-standing though not wholly unchallenged view that the system of slavery was being undermined because of its unprofitability and because of the impossibility of maintaining and allocating a slave labor force. They found, on the contrary, that "slavery was apparently about as remunerative as alternative employments to which slave capital might have been put" and that: "Slavery was profitable to the whole South, the continuing demand for labor in the Cotton Belt ensuring returns to the breeding operation on the less productive land in the seaboard and border states."²⁶ Another example is the attempt by McCormick to describe, for the period in which he does research, the relation between the economic status of members of the

²⁴ David Hume, *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* (London, 1779), Pt. XII.

²⁵ Myrtle Kitchell Aydelotte, *An Investigation of the Relation between Nursing Activity and Patient Welfare* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1960), 41–123.

²⁶ Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer, *The Economics of Slavery and Other Studies in Econometric History* (Chicago, 1964), 66, 82.

electorate and their political choice. This topic, though important, is difficult for historians to study since the rich and poor in an electorate are generally buried in the anonymity of mass figures, and it is now virtually impossible to distinguish who voted for whom. McCormick, however, in attacking the problem, was able to take advantage of the dual franchise existing in North Carolina in the years 1836-1856, when only adult freemen who owned fifty acres of land within the county could vote for a member of the state senate while all freemen, including the above, who had paid county or state taxes, could vote for governor. By comparing, county by county, the size of the vote cast for governor with the comparable vote for state senators it was possible to determine the proportion of the electorate that could not meet the fifty-acre requirement. Then, by examining the distribution of each class of the electorate between the two major parties, McCormick was able to reach some conclusions on the relation of economic status to party affiliation. His finding, one of considerable interest, was that "the economic distinction implicit in the dual suffrage system had no substantial significance as a factor in determining party alignments in these North Carolina elections."²⁷

In any case, the complexity and the limited scope of historical information are not arguments against quantification in particular. These limitations exist no matter what techniques are used. They arise from the insufficiency of the evidence and not from the peculiarities of the method. The obstacles to quantitative generalizations apply with equal force to nonquantitative ones, and what cannot be done with statistics cannot be done without them, either. No serious student of methodology would contend that a disciplined approach can overcome the inherent frailties in the data. But it hardly follows that, when the sources are suspect or the facts incomplete, an impressionistic, subjective approach can surmount these difficulties. Problems due to inadequacy of the data may be brought out more sharply and may become more apparent in a formal and systematic investigation, but they cannot in any circumstances be evaded.

(3) The objection is also sometimes made that the general conclusions of a quantitative investigation are not proved by the figures. This is, of course, true, and no one who knows anything about statistical theory would argue otherwise. To expect finality for the broader conclusions of a quantitative investigation is to misconstrue the nature of the approach. On this

²⁷ Richard P. McCormick, "Suffrage Classes and Party Alignments: A Study in Voter Behavior," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (Dec. 1959), 398-403; for a review of other attempts to measure what cannot be measured directly and a discussion of the problems involved, see Robert William Fogel, "Reappraisals in American Economic History—Discussion," *American Economic Review*, LIV (May 1964), 377-89.

point some misunderstanding apparently exists for, in everyday speech, reckless claims are sometimes made as to what "statistics prove." Actually the range of statistical proof is limited. A statistical table is nothing more than a convenient arrangement of the evidence, and it proves only what it contains: that there was, for example, a relationship or, more usual, a partial relationship between two variables. Theories that attempt to account for such a relationship, in the sense of fitting the findings into a wider conceptual scheme, are not proved by the figures. They are merely propositions that appear to explain what is known in a plausible fashion and that do not conflict with any relevant evidence that can, after a conscientious search, be uncovered. This is not to say that they are nonsense, for they may be supported by persuasive arguments. Yet since, notoriously, different arguments have proved persuasive to different audiences, the broader inferences from a quantitative investigation can scarcely be accepted as final. Thus it is possible, if the information is available, to establish how people voted, but it is much more difficult to say why they voted as they did. There might, of course, even be some difference of opinion on how they voted: for example, the accuracy of the records or of the tabulations made from them might be challenged. Yet such a disagreement is clearly on a lower level than a disagreement about men's motives, and there is a greater likelihood that it could be resolved through collecting and arranging the relevant data by acceptable procedures. In regard to more general explanatory propositions, however, a statistical inquiry, like any other method of verification, can only disprove. If the hypothesis does not fit the evidence, it may be rejected; in this sense a quantitative finding can indeed be conclusive. "Once we recognize that the Jacksonians won either by narrow majorities before 1837 or by narrow pluralities after that date, or frequently failed to win by any margin, it will surely become apparent that there is no basis for explanations that tell why they were the 'popular party.'"²⁸ The absence of unfavorable findings does not, however, prove an explanatory generalization for there may be some other explanation, and it is also possible that adverse evidence may be discovered later. Strictly speaking, a generalization of this kind is never proved and remains on probation indefinitely.²⁹

Hence there is always, in quantitative research of any scope, a gap between observation and theory. To bridge this gap it may be necessary to resort to assumptions that are not demonstrated by the evidence. Some recent

²⁸ Benson, *Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*, 289-90.

²⁹ For a further discussion of this point, see W. I. B. Beveridge, *The Art of Scientific Investigation* (rev. ed., New York, 1957), 115-22.

presentations of this kind depend not only on the figures but also on the use of hypotheses that are designed to show either what the figures measure or what their relevance is to certain general questions. The gap cannot always be bridged. Interesting findings may be obtained that are difficult to explain in the sense of devising an acceptable theory that will account for them. An example from my own research is a cumulative scale, derived through Louis Guttman's technique of scalogram analysis, that ties together votes in the House of Commons on a number of different subjects in a way consistent with the hypothesis that they all measure a single variable. Yet the nature of this variable, this larger issue that subsumes many smaller ones, has proved difficult to determine. Though the existence of the scale can be demonstrated with about as much certainty as can ever be obtained in historical research, the characterization of it can be, for the present, only tentative and hypothetical.⁸⁰ Comparable dilemmas have sometimes been encountered in other fields.⁸¹

The hypotheses used to connect observation and theory are, no matter how plausible they at first appear, always open to challenge. The broader conclusions of a quantitative presentation may be vulnerable regardless of the accuracy of the mathematics or the reliability of the original data, and questions may be raised about them that cannot be answered by a resort to numbers. A critic may accept the findings, but then point out that the conclusions based upon them follow only if certain assumptions are made, and go on to question these assumptions. Some of the large modern quantitative studies have been criticized exactly on this ground: that the chain of argument, the series of connecting hypotheses, was too long and too tenuous to make the conclusions convincing.⁸²

By the same token, a quantitative investigation may not and often will not settle an argument. It may settle certain disputed points about the evidence. The discussion of larger questions of historical interpretation, however, concerns not merely what the facts were but also what may be inferred from them, and on this level controversy may continue.⁸³ A quantitative finding may be open to more than one interpretation: in some cases it can

⁸⁰ Aydelotte, "Voting Patterns," 148-51.

⁸¹ "In spite of the great social and scientific usefulness of psychological tests it must be acknowledged that for the most part we have had very inadequate ideas as to what it is that they actually measure." (Joy Paul Guilford, *Psychometric Methods* [2d ed., New York, 1954], 470.)

⁸² Nathan Glazer, "The American Soldier as Science: Can Sociology Fulfill Its Ambitions?" *Commentary*, VIII (Nov. 1949), 487-96; C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (New York, 1959), 72.

⁸³ Greer based his conclusions on a calculation of what percentage each social or occupational group constituted of the total number of victims of the Terror. If he had argued from percentages figured in the other direction—designed to show what proportion of each of the various divisions of French society was executed in the Terror—the picture would have

be used to support either of two alternative and mutually exclusive theoretical schemes.⁸⁴ It can also happen that quantitative results that appear to disprove an accepted theory will simply be "explained away." This procedure can be quite legitimate, since it may prove possible to achieve a reformulation of the earlier view, which preserves some of the original insights, but does not conflict with the new evidence. If contradictory findings continue to accumulate, however, it may eventually be more satisfactory to abandon the earlier position altogether.

Quantitative procedures by no means preclude, nor indeed can they possibly eliminate, the use of value judgments, speculations, intelligent guesses, or "the imagination and intuitive feel which the historian, and for that matter the social scientist, should bring to his subject."⁸⁵ What is gained by attempting such exactitude as the circumstances allow is not finality but reasonable credibility, not the elimination of subjective factors but the minimizing of their role. No greater claim than this would be asserted by responsible social scientists or statisticians.

These points, though they are elementary, are not always understood or remembered. Quantitative findings are impressive in appearance and may, by their psychological impact, numb or blunt the critical abilities of the reader. It does occasionally seem to happen that a statistical presentation wins acceptance not through intellectual persuasion but through a kind of hypnosis. There is, however, no magic about quantitative evidence. It may be more conveniently arranged and, on the points it covers, more complete than other forms of documentation. Its significance, however, depends on what can be inferred from it, and such inferences, like all other inferences, may be fallible.

looked somewhat different. This is because, as Greer points out, the "proportional incidence" of the Terror was "almost directly inverse to its absolute incidence"; in proportion to their total numbers, "the nobles, the clergy, and the rich suffered far more than the lower classes." (Greer, *Incidence of the Terror*, 105-109.) This aspect of the findings has been made the ground for a sharp critique of Greer's book by Richard Louie who argues that Greer's own data contradict his principal conclusion and show "with 95 per cent confidence that the Terror was an 'inter-class war.'" (Richard Louie, "The Incidence of the Terror: A Critique of a Statistical Interpretation," *French Historical Studies*, III [Spring 1964], 379-89.) Neither way of presenting the figures is "right" in any ultimate sense; it is a matter of what question one wishes to answer and what features of the evidence it is most useful, for this purpose, to bring out.

⁸⁴ In case this appears puzzling, it may be helpful to summarize the hypothetical illustration given by Hans Zeisel. If Company A increases its sales volume in a year from one to two million dollars and Company B, a bigger outfit to begin with, increases its sales in the same period from four to seven million dollars, then one could argue either that Company B did better since its net increase was three times that of A, or that Company A did better since it increased its sales 100 per cent in comparison to B's 75 per cent. Which alternative is preferred depends not on the figures but on what causal assumptions are implied in making the comparison and on what kinds of questions the investigator wishes to test. (Hans Zeisel, *Say It with Figures* [4th ed., New York, 1957], 8-13.)

⁸⁵ James Cornford, "The Transformation of Conservatism in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Victorian Studies*, VII (Sept. 1963), 40.

This disadvantage is not, of course, peculiar to quantitative procedures. On the contrary, quantitative evidence stands, in this respect, on a level with all other kinds of evidence, and arguing from it is subject to the same rules and the same hazards. The danger of false reasoning from good evidence occurs in any kind of research. It is not only in the field of statistics that men may agree on the facts but disagree on the inferences to be drawn from them.

(4) Questions have been raised not merely regarding the feasibility and reliability of quantitative research in history but also regarding its usefulness. It is sometimes argued that quantitative findings, even if they can be trusted, tend to be trivial, inconsequential, and uninteresting. This is because any system of classification, such as is needed for such work, uses only a small part of the available information and leaves out the full richness of reality. Hence the ordinary statistical categories are too crude and threadbare to explain the complicated chains of events with which history is concerned. The problems in which historians are most interested are so complex that they elude these methods. One critic holds that: "almost all important questions are important precisely because they are not susceptible to quantitative answers."⁸⁶

It is true, of course, that any quantitative procedure involves using only selected classes of data. It is seldom possible to include everything, or to come anywhere near this. Hence, statistical tables, though they seem impressive, may also present an appearance of bleakness or barrenness which can act as an impediment to thought. Often they will not stimulate the imagination as the detailed recital of an individual case will do. Indeed, it is useful, when one comes to an impasse in interpreting the figures, to turn to the consideration of individuals about whom much is known. Such individuals may not be representative, and one cannot generalize from them to the whole group; a study of them may, however, yield suggestions or leads, fresh hypotheses that can be tested, which will make the evidence as a whole more intelligible. It is always necessary, when working with the figures, to remember that they do not tell the whole story, that many elements of the situation are not reflected in them, and that what they do not cover may turn out to be more important than what they include. To interpret the quantitative evidence it is generally necessary to have recourse to the more conventional sources of historical information: memoirs and biographies, congressional debates, private papers, and the like.

⁸⁶ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "The Humanist Looks at Empirical Social Research," *American Sociological Review*, XXVII (Dec. 1962), 770.

The charge that quantification abstracts and uses only limited parts of the available information, however, is not an objection to this method specifically. On the contrary, any generalization abstracts. A generalization is a comparison of a number of cases, not in terms of all the attributes of each, but in terms of certain selected attributes in respect to which the cases are comparable. This problem is not peculiar to quantification; it arises in any research in which a conscientious effort is made to substantiate general statements.

The objection that the findings of quantitative studies are not significant sometimes takes other forms. It has been alleged, for example, that this kind of research is destructive and not constructive and that: "the recent use of quantitative methods to test historical generalization has resulted in the wholesale destruction of categories that previously held sway in the historian's vocabulary without supplanting them with new generalizations of comparable significance."³⁷ As an objection to quantification, however, this argument has no weight for it applies equally to any form of verification. All verification is in this sense negative. The argument fails to distinguish between the two quite different activities involved in research: getting ideas and testing them. Quantitative inquiries are generally directed to testing hypotheses formulated in advance. It has frequently been observed that, in work of this kind, a flat-footed empiricism is not likely to rise above a fairly low conceptual level and that systematic thought will progress more rapidly when it is directed by some adequate general hypothesis. The point should not be pushed too far for it occasionally happens that important relationships are not anticipated, but emerge as windfalls after the inquiry is completed. Also, in an area in which little work has been done, the original investigations must often be to some extent exploratory. It would be pedantic to insist on a full-fledged hypothesis in every case.³⁸ Nevertheless, the criticism that quantitative methods destroy and do not create is clearly based on a mistaken notion of the usual role of hypothesis in research. Hypotheses and generalizations are not simple inductions that emerge of their own accord from the evidence; they have, as is now better understood, different and more complex origins.³⁹

³⁷ Richard Hofstadter, "History and the Social Sciences," in *Varieties of History: From Voltaire to the Present*, ed. Fritz Stern (New York, 1956), 415, n. 14.

³⁸ Patricia L. Kendall and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Problems of Survey Analysis," in *Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier,"* ed. Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (Glencoe, Ill., 1950), 133, 137-42, 161; L. H. C. Tippett, *Statistics* (London, 1943), 139-40.

³⁹ I have discussed this point at greater length in "Notes on the Problem of Historical Generalization," in *Generalization in the Writing of History*, ed. Gottschalk, 163-72.

Nor does a negative finding necessarily represent a dead end. If a generalization is wrong, it is useful to have it disproved; the disproof constitutes an advance in knowledge. As J. H. Hexter observes: "it may be worth saying that violent destruction is not necessarily of itself worthless and futile. Even though it leaves doubts about the right road for London, it helps if someone rips up, however violently, a 'To London' sign on the Dover cliffs pointing south."⁴⁰ A negative finding can be, in some cases, as valuable as a positive finding, depending on what theoretical inferences follow from it. Furthermore, to blame the quantitative method for disproving bad hypotheses is to blame the doctor instead of the disease. What is at fault is the mistaken opinion, not the technique that reveals when we have gone astray. The remedy is not to abandon the technique but to try to develop a new theory that fits the evidence better.

It is also sometimes argued that quantitative methods only prove the obvious, that they merely demonstrate, by an unnecessarily cumbersome apparatus, what everyone already knew.⁴¹ It is admitted that they can occasionally be used to disprove certain crude generalizations that still appear in the textbooks. Yet, it is said, the crudity of such generalizations is already widely appreciated, and, on the whole, they are not accepted by sophisticated historians. In other words, quantitative techniques are useful only when historians have made fools of themselves. Their function is to clear away rubbish. However, if there is no rubbish, if scholarship in a field has been reasonably careful and responsible, a quantitative analysis is unlikely to reveal anything that is not already fairly well understood.

This criticism, also, is not well taken. Even if research merely confirms in a more conclusive fashion what some people already believe, it is good to have this additional assurance and to establish this belief on a more solid foundation. Also, on many questions that can be studied by quantitative methods, the answer is by no means a matter of course. More often there is evidence pointing in both directions, and both sides of the argument have been supported with some plausibility by different individuals. In such cases, it is useful to establish which of two contradictory statements comes closer to describing the total evidence and just how close it comes. It might be added that, in disputes of this kind, either answer will be "obvious" in the sense of being already familiar, even though the two alternative answers exclude each other. Furthermore, the results of quantitative investigations have fre-

⁴⁰ J. H. Hexter, "Storm over the Gentry," in *Reappraisals in History*, ed. *id.* (Evanston, Ill., 1961), 138.

⁴¹ Mills, *Sociological Imagination*, 53-55, 75.

quently told directly against interpretations that had been widely accepted. Several examples have already been given; another is Fogel's attempt to appraise the role of the railroads in American economic growth, which resulted in the conclusions, disheartening to some enthusiasts, that even in the absence of railroads the prairies would have been settled and exploited, that the combination of wagon and water transportation could have provided a relatively good substitute for the railroad, and that "no single innovation was vital for economic growth during the nineteenth century."⁴²

Whether the results of a quantitative investigation are important or trivial is and can only be a matter of opinion. The presumption of significance is based not on a demonstration of fact but on a judgment of value. This applies, incidentally, even to the so-called "tests of significance" commonly used in statistics. Properly speaking, they are evaluations of probability, and, while probability can be mathematically determined, the degree of it that will be regarded as acceptable in any study is a question not of mathematics but of the investigator's preference. A quantitative study, it might be said, is significant if the investigator thinks it is and can persuade others to share his view. Speaking simply on this basis, it seems difficult to support the assertion that the topics open to quantitative investigation are of no consequence. Far from this being the case, an intelligent use of the method opens up a host of new, potentially interesting questions that could be approached in no other way. Some of these possibilities and some of the studies conducted along these lines have already been discussed. Perhaps it is enough to say here that the substantive weight of the findings of the limited number of historians who have attempted quantitative research is already impressive enough to render the accusation of triviality something less than plausible.

It seems reasonable to argue, furthermore, that the significance of a project of research does not depend on whether it is quantitative or not. Quantitative presentations vary greatly in value. They may be significant or trivial, interesting or uninteresting, and it is incorrect to suppose that they are all on the same level in these respects. What gives them such worth as they may have are the importance of the problem, the abundance, reliability, and relevance of the available evidence, and, above all, the intelligence with which the work is executed.

In fact, what is most needed in research of this kind is not the automatic application of certain techniques but, rather, qualities of logic and imagination. The main problems here, as in all research, are not technical and mechanical but intellectual and analytical. It is not easy to make the figures

⁴² Fogel, *Railroads and American Economic Growth*, 219, 234.

"talk" or to show their bearing on significant problems, and nothing is drearier than a presentation that merely summarizes the evidence. I am disturbed by students who want to do quantitative research and who seem to expect that this will solve their problems and that the application of a method will save them the trouble of thinking. This expectation is erroneous. Quantitative techniques, though they may play a crucial role in demolishing previous theories, are usually not adequate, by themselves, to establish general alternative hypotheses. They are nothing more than a means of deploying the evidence, although they perform this limited service wonderfully well. Once this subordinate and ancillary work has been done, however, the basic problems of historical interpretation still remain to be dealt with; they are not to be resolved by a gimmick. The greatest hazard in quantitative research is not that of neglecting techniques but that of becoming too much absorbed in them. This danger is particularly threatening now because of the rapid development of mechanical facilities for the processing of data. It is only too easy to become absorbed in the gadgets and to forget the ideas. The refinement and sophistication of methods, though desirable in themselves, can become a kind of escapism, an evasion or postponement of the intellectual tasks that must ultimately be faced.

In general, the discussion of quantification in history has involved much talking at cross-purposes. Many of the common objections to this approach seem to arise from a misconception of its function. They appear to assume that claims have been made for it that no responsible statistician would make. No one well versed in this line of work would argue that all historical materials can be quantified, that the figures provide any final demonstration of the broader inferences derived from them, or that the figures tell the whole story. Such assertions are clearly improper. If they are not made, however, as by informed workers in this line they are not, much of the current offensive against quantitative techniques fails. The central point around which discussion of the subject has in part revolved is not an intellectual issue but a problem of communication.

The use of quantitative methods for history presents substantial difficulties not always appreciated by enthusiasts or neophytes. Those who have employed them are likely to be less starry-eyed about their possibilities than those who have merely commended them without trying them. Indeed, quantitative projects may be more glamorous in the planning stage than they are after the results have been gathered; the findings sometimes turn out to be flatter and less revolutionary than had been hoped.

Though the difficulties are real enough, however, it is not clear that they

constitute objections specifically to a quantitative approach, or that they can be resolved by dispensing with it. The standard objections are misconceived or placed out of context when presented as grounds for rejecting these methods altogether. Properly understood, these reservations serve not to discredit quantification but to mark the boundaries of what it can accomplish. Indeed, the apparent disadvantages of quantitative research, the impediments to generalization that it presents, are actually advantages for they call attention to limits in knowledge or to flaws in reasoning that might not otherwise be perceived or fully appreciated. When all reservations have been made, quantification has still shown itself, in the light of the considerable experience we now have, to be a powerful tool in historical analysis. It helps to make the work both easier and more reliable, and, in some cases, it provides a means of dealing with questions that could not be attacked in any other way. Those wrestling with problems for which this approach is appropriate can ill afford to dispense with it. In the general intellectual twilight in which historians are condemned to spend their lives, even some small effort to render the darkness less opaque may be advantageous.

The Middle Class in Western Europe, 1815-1848

LENORE O'BOYLE*

ABOUT twenty years ago David Thomson wrote of the middle class as "this peculiarly self-raising class" and noted that "To explain broad historical development by the 'rise of the middle classes' has become an overworked device of historians."¹ Today there seems to be growing dissatisfaction with the abstraction "middle class," a feeling that the concept does not adequately express what historians know about events. Alfred Cobban has recently expressed this dissatisfaction in a learned and stimulating study, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*.² David Pinkney is engaged in an interesting re-examination of the bourgeoisie in the French Revolution of 1830.³

Cobban argues that the theory of the Revolution as the overthrow of feudalism by the bourgeoisie is a historical myth. Merchants, financiers, and manufacturers did not lead the Revolution, and the Revolution did not result in the kind of legislation that would have best expressed business views and interests. The Revolution was prepared and led by the professional and official classes. Far from being a movement for capitalism, it was largely the means by which the peasant proprietors, lawyers, *rentiers*, and men of property in the towns successfully resisted the encroachments of early capitalism into French society. The result of the Revolution, Cobban concludes, was the consolidation of power in the hands of a new aristocracy of landowners.

Pinkney examines changes in the personnel of state in 1830 and finds that the *grande bourgeoisie* did not gain any significantly increased hold on public office. From this fact he argues that the Revolution did not represent, as is usually said, the accession of the *grande bourgeoisie* to power. A major

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¹ David Thomson, *Democracy in France: The Third and Fourth Republics* (2d ed., London, 1952), 53.

² Alfred Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Eng., 1964).

³ D. H. Pinkney, "The Myth of the French Revolution of 1830," in *A Festschrift for Frederick B. Artz*, ed. *id.* and Theodore Ropp (Durham, N.C., 1964), 52-71.

purge of government personnel did take place, but the effect of this was to give office to a different group of individuals, not to a new class. "After the Revolution the landed proprietors, the official class, and the professional men continued to predominate in the key offices of state as they had under the Empire and the Bourbon Restoration. Here the Revolution had introduced no new regime of the *grande bourgeoisie*."⁴

Cobban's study raises very complex problems. Here it can only be suggested that what seems to trouble him is a too close identification of bourgeoisie or middle class with the businessmen; it is as if every time middle-class victory were mentioned this had to be taken to mean a victory for the business interests, or capitalists. Yet does not the concept of the middle class just as often, and as properly, refer to the middling ranks of society, those intermediate between the laboring class and the aristocratic landowners? R. R. Palmer in *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* uses the term in that way and includes the businessmen as only one element in the middle class.⁵ Indeed without such a usage it is hard to see how historians could generalize about the period from 1750 to 1850. It appears undeniable that basic changes in European society did take place during that time and that these changes were bound up very closely with the growth in power and importance of those who were neither laborers nor members of the traditional privileged groups. To describe such long-term changes, as Palmer does, the term "middle class" can be justified as economical and accurate. The question probably reduces itself to a matter of time perspective. It is when shorter periods of time are involved that "middle class" becomes, not wrong, but simply unhelpful, because it obscures the complex relations among the various groups within the middle class. Cobban, for example, seems to have had the direction of his work largely determined by his initial realization of how large a part was played in the French Revolution by professional men and state officials. No one has drawn attention more effectively to the role of the lawyers in the Revolution,⁶ and in 1956 he wrote, "The class that is omitted in most interpretations of social history, the official class, may be one of the most important classes of all. . . ."⁷ His work is most valuable to the degree that he suggests, not that the term "middle class" is meaningless and should be abandoned, but that it needs

⁴ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁵ R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800* (2 vols., Princeton, N.J., 1959, 1964).

⁶ Alfred Cobban, *The Myth of the French Revolution* (London, 1955).

⁷ *Id.*, "The Vocabulary of Social History," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXI (Mar. 1956), 10.

fuller study in terms of its main components, the businessmen, the free professions, and the state officials.

One would expect historians to find this question of the interrelationship among the elements of the middle class an interesting one, but there has been surprisingly little attempt to think about the problem in any systematic way. There is a considerable amount of scattered observation about the behavior of professions and officials at particular times and places, and a certain amount of speculation, much of it desultory and offhand. The attempt to formulate generalizations about the way in which these three middle-class elements interacted, however, has seldom been made. Were the three elements of equal importance, or did one dominate? Through what means did one group succeed in determining the actions of the other two? What common aims held the three together? Conversely, how did their interests differ, how much, and with what results for themselves and the greater society? Was one of the elements more exposed than the other two to the pressure of the greater society? The following discussion represents an attempt to take some of the findings of contemporary scholarship that seem relevant and to see if they can be pieced together to yield some general framework in which the West European middle class in the period 1815-1848 can be explained.⁸

The initially striking fact about the businessmen is their apparent lack of interest in political power; their immediate aims were profit and status. It was the realization that to achieve these goals they needed a certain type of society that led the businessmen to consider the acquisition of political

⁸ Class is, of course, an economic category, and Karl Marx was correct, at least for the early nineteenth century, in seeing relationship to the means of production as decisive. What the members of the middle class had in common was capital, in the form of either money or skill. Marx was chiefly interested in money capital used in industry; it is probably from his emphasis that the tendency has come to identify the middle class with the businessmen and to neglect the intellectuals whose capital was their acquired specialized abilities. Max Weber's definition of class as a group who share a common chance in the market is perhaps more satisfactory. In the following discussion businessmen are defined as all those whose main occupation was manufacturing, commerce, or banking. The professions are likewise defined by enumeration; they were the lawyers, doctors, teachers, journalists, engineers, and so forth. It is usual to distinguish these as the "free professions," in contrast to the state officials. The category of state officials can be used in a broad sense to include all those whose chief occupation was the management of state affairs. It is common usage, however, to distinguish between elected officials—"politicians"—and career officials—"bureaucrats." The many minor state employees are not as a rule considered state officials, but rather professional men. Occupation is the decisive factor in classification. For example, a lawyer may be also a state official, or a state employee, or a politician; his chief occupation decides to which group he is assigned. Source of income is not considered crucial. A man whose chief occupation was the management of public affairs but who drew his income mainly from land would be considered a state official; a man whose career was teaching but who drew his income largely from business investments would be classified as a teacher. It will be immediately obvious that the landed interest is omitted as a chief component of the middle class. The omission will be discussed in the body of the article in relation to France.

power, but only so much as was necessary to achieve social equality and the right to the unrestrained search for profit. What evidence there is does not indicate that the ordinary man of business wanted to exercise political power directly and to form part of the political elite of paid officeholders and elected officials. Presumably the members of the business group had neither time nor aptitude to involve themselves in the full-time process of decision making. They did identify with the movement for representative government, but even this demand was to some extent forced upon them by the unwillingness of existing governments to provide institutions suitable for the new economy. Eighteenth-century French businessmen did not, after all, start from constitutional demands but from the desire for social and administrative reforms; it was the weakness of the monarchy and the pretensions of the nobility that pushed the reform movement in a political direction. In the same period English manufacturers and merchants showed little interest in agitation for parliamentary reform, and some apparently felt resentment at the attempt to involve them in politics. They acted promptly enough when they felt their interests threatened; William Pitt's initial condescension and lack of consideration toward the manufacturers changed in time to respect and cooperation.⁹

In the first half of the nineteenth century it was in England, if anywhere, that one would have expected the businessmen to claim predominant control in government. Instead there was a basic class harmony built largely on the businessmen's willingness to leave extensive political power in the hands of the landed interest.¹⁰ In France businessmen did not predominate even in the so-called bourgeois governments of Louis Philippe.¹¹ Certainly

⁹ Witt Bowden, *Industrial Society in England towards the End of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1925), 162 ff.; Simon Maccoby, *English Radicalism 1762-1785: The Origins* (London, 1955), 441. Palmer, *Democratic Revolution*, II, 24-26, judges that throughout Europe in the years just before 1800 the businessmen seldom took any initiative in bringing on revolution, but once revolution was an accepted fact they very commonly supported it and benefited from it.

¹⁰ It was not until 1885 that commercial men and manufacturers outnumbered landowners in the House of Commons. (F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* [London, 1963], 276-79.) Some studies of the personnel of the House of Commons in the nineteenth century are J. A. Thomas, "The House of Commons," *Economica*, V (Mar. 1925), 49-61; S. F. Wooley, "The Personnel of the Parliament of 1833," *English Historical Review*, LIII (Apr. 1938), 240-62. W. O. Aydelotte's forthcoming study of Parliament in the 1840's should be of outstanding importance. Among his already published articles may be mentioned "The House of Commons in the 1840's," *History*, XXXIX (Oct. 1954), 249-62, "Voting Patterns in the British House of Commons in the 1840s," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, V (Jan. 1963), 134-63, "On the Business Interests of the Gentry in the Parliament of 1841-47," appendix in G. Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 290-305.

¹¹ Ch.-H. Pouthas, "Les ministres de Louis-Philippe," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, I (Apr.-June 1954), 102-30. In regard to elected assemblies, one notes a franchise heavily weighted in favor of the landowners and the importance of the official element among the deputies. On the franchise, see Sherman Kent, *Electoral Procedure under Louis-Philippe*

they did not in the governments of the German states before 1848.¹² Even the political theory of Western liberal parties reflected this unwillingness to assume the sole burden of political decision. In France theorists like François Guizot and Pierre Royer-Collard, quintessentially bourgeois in mentality, expounded the doctrine of the sovereignty of reason and warned against locating sovereign power in any one group of men.¹³ Exponents of German liberalism assumed a division of sovereignty between a ruler and a representative assembly who were to cooperate in establishing the rule of law.¹⁴ This refusal to accept the responsibilities of power could even be used as a basis for moral censure of the nineteenth-century middle class, and was so used by Karl Marx.¹⁵

If business did not choose to rule directly, how then did it exert influence? That it did exert influence seems indisputable; there is no other explanation for the restructuring of Western European society in this period to suit the convenience of business interests. In the nature of the case, the indirect exertion of power is hard to see clearly. Here it is suggested that the problem can be approached in at least three different but complementary ways: first, study of the types and functioning of business organizations; second, investigation of the personnel of government; third, analysis of the interaction of society and culture.

As for business organizations, it is obvious enough that businessmen developed a variety of pressure groups, techniques of lobbying, and methods of influencing public opinion through the press. In representative systems they helped to organize and finance political parties. Beyond such general knowledge, however, comparatively little detailed work is known to me, and, without a basis of specialized studies, significant generalization about the functioning of business organizations as a common European phenomenon in this period cannot be expected.¹⁶

(New Haven, Conn., 1937); on the composition of the Chamber, see S. Charlety, "La Restauration (1815-1830)," in *Histoire de France contemporaine depuis la Révolution jusqu'à la paix de 1919*, ed. Ernst Lavisse (10 vols., Paris, 1920-22), IV, 91, 196, 331, and "La monarchie de Juillet (1830-1848)," *ibid.*, V, 161, 300, 347.

¹² Jacques Droz, *Les révolutions allemandes de 1848* (Paris, 1957), 33 ff.

¹³ Gabriel Rémond, *Royer-Collard: Son essai d'un système politique* (Paris, 1933); Douglas W. Johnson, *Guizot: Aspects of French History, 1787-1874* (London, 1963); Lothar Gall, *Benjamin Constant: Seine politische Ideenwelt und der deutsche Vormärz* (Wiesbaden, 1963).

¹⁴ E. R. Huber, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte seit 1789* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1957-60), II, 309-23, 371-90.

¹⁵ For an interesting contemporary restatement of Marx's indictment, see Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (2d ed., Cleveland, 1958), Pt. I.

¹⁶ Much more may have been done in this direction than I know. French historians in particular have recently shown great interest in special economic studies; one need only mention names such as Georges Duveau, Bertrand Gille, and Paul Leuilliot.

More can be said about the study of government personnel; here the crucial fact is certainly the predominance of professional men, lawyers above all. These were the men who accomplished business' purposes. Jean Lhomme, in his excellent study *La grande bourgeoisie au pouvoir (1830-1880)*, has developed the useful idea of clientage.

Sans qu'il soit nécessaire de remonter jusqu'aux clientèles romaines, on sait que des liens unissent très souvent telles personnes à telle autre, plus puissante, par exemple plus riche. Ce sont des liens *individuels*, créés par la dépendance. Ils sont réciproques, mais asymétriques, ce qui correspond bien à l'idée d'un pouvoir. Le supérieur exerce, par définition, son pouvoir sur l'inférieur; mais, en même temps, le supérieur n'est pas sans dépendre, d'une manière quelconque, de son inférieur.¹⁷

The value of this particular concept lies in its applicability to a wide range of relationships whose essential similarity is not immediately obvious. The businessman and the professional in our period could be linked in a variety of ways, more or less direct, more or less obvious. At one extreme would be the very marked dependence of the lawyer directly employed by a chamber of commerce or the journalist editing a newspaper owned by a banker. More complex and problematical would be the case of an elected representative in England or France. He might have gained his seat by direct purchase of votes, with the purchase money coming from a rich patron, in which case his debts would be clear. He might, however, have owed a variety of obligations to party backers, press owners, and accommodating bankers; his dependency, being thus diffuse, would be masked and might lack almost any element of personal subordination. Career officials in the bureaucracy would seem to have been comparatively removed from any dependent relationship, but even they could have been subjected to pressure through promises or threats regarding promotion, and by way of direct or indirect financial aid.¹⁸

¹⁷ Jean Lhomme, *La grande bourgeoisie au pouvoir (1830-1880): Essai sur l'histoire sociale de la France* (Paris, 1960), 254-55.

¹⁸ Lhomme's approach seems fully congruent with René Rémond's interesting analysis in *La droite en France de 1815 à nos jours* (Paris, 1954). Rémond views the July Monarchy as a government of elites, the notables of birth, fortune, and intelligence; he notes the high proportion of men who rose only through talent and intelligence. As for England, for an interesting picture of the symbiotic relationship between the landlord and his various retainers, see Thompson, *English Landed Society*, 95, 151. In England patronage and purchase were the chief methods of selecting public officials until 1870. Some prominent critics of the liberals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries showed a measure of condescension or contempt for the professional. Edmund Burke charged that the lawyers worked for revolution to further their private ends, seeking the "innumerable lucrative jobs which follow in the train of all great convulsions and revolutions in the state. . . ." He saw the worst elements in the nobility betraying their fellow nobles so that in the "spoil and humiliation of their own order these individuals would possess a sure fund for the pay of their new followers." (Edmund Burke, "Reflections on the Revolution in France," in *The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund*

Thirdly, understanding of the interaction of society and culture can clarify the ways in which business interests determined nineteenth-century society. In any society the importance of those who control the means of production is obvious. Direct pressure on government is hardly needed to ensure that every consideration be given to the economic elite. Such consideration, moreover, is in the main accepted as proper, not only by the wealthy but by all classes. The values of the economic elite become the common values. It is surely in this sense that Marx is to be understood when he speaks of a society's culture as the superstructure built on the material base, and the state as the executive committee of the ruling class. A bureaucracy is composed of men reared to accept the prevailing values of their society; their spontaneous tendency will be to preserve the existing society and its hierarchy. Revolutionaries do not become state officials, or, if they do, they soon cease to be revolutionaries or cease to be officials. In early nineteenth-century Europe the bureaucrat was himself in most cases a member of the middle or noble class and the product of a higher education built on dominant social attitudes and values. There was then really no paradox in the fact that governments whose personnel was never composed mainly or even largely of businessmen followed policies that were essentially more favorable to business than to other interests of society.¹⁹

Consideration of the professions may appropriately be introduced by Prince Metternich's well-known judgment, made in 1820: "In all four countries [France, Germany, Italy, Spain] the agitated classes are principally composed of wealthy men—real cosmopolitans, securing their personal ad-

Burke [12 vols., Boston, 1899], III, 287, 292.) Henri Saint-Simon denounced lawyers and metaphysicians as bastard classes who sold their services to the highest bidder. (F. E. Manuel, *The New World of Henri Saint-Simon* [Cambridge, Mass., 1956], 266-67.) Baron Heinrich vom Stein planned representative assemblies composed of nobles, landowners, and peasants, but wanted to exclude lawyers and the usual men of letters. (Fritz Valjavec, *Die Entstehung der politischen Strömungen in Deutschland, 1770-1815* [Munich, 1951], 387.) Marx and Engels wrote in general of the professionals as "the ideological representatives and spokesmen of the above classes [i.e., bourgeoisie and peasantry], their savants, lawyers, doctors, etc., in a word: their so-called talents." (Karl Marx, "The Class Struggles in France 1848-1850," in *Selected Works*, ed. V. V. Adoratsky and C. P. Dutt [2 vols., New York, 1933], II, 194.) Marx himself might, at least at one point, have been classified as one of "their . . . talents" since he served as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, a paper founded in 1842 primarily to express the viewpoint of a group of leading business and professional men in Cologne. (Josef Hansen, *Gustav von Mevissen* [2 vols., Berlin, 1906], I, 245-62.) The theme of patronage appears frequently in nineteenth-century novels. It is prominent in all of Honoré de Balzac and Stendhal. In England one may note especially Maria Edgeworth's *Patronage* (1814), Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* (1814), George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871-72), Anthony Trollope's *Phineas Finn* (1869). Interesting analyses of the dependent character of the professional men in the later nineteenth century in Russia and the United States are George Fischer, *Russian Liberalism: From Gentry to Intelligentsia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), and Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955), 135-55.

¹⁹ See notes 10, 11, 12, above. A work like Emmanuel Beau de Loménie, *Les responsabilités des dynasties bourgeoises* (2 vols., Paris, 1943-47), offers strong evidence in support of the argument that France from the time of the Revolution was in actuality governed by a number of great business families.

vantage at the expense of any order of things whatever—paid State officials, men of letters, lawyers, and the individuals charged with the public education." As to the source of their agitation, "This evil may be described in one word: presumption. . . ."²⁰ Modern research supports this description. The professional men were of great numerical importance in the radical movements; their chief aim does seem to have been to better their position in society.

Here, as in the case of the businessmen, there is no evidence that the professional men started from the desire for political power. They apparently wanted profit and status, which in their case meant successful careers. As highly educated specialists they thought themselves deserving of social leadership and corresponding rewards; the example of France and the "career open to talent" could only strengthen their demands for recognition. The road to success lay through the sale of their talent. Here the political situation did become relevant, to the point where it would seem that the primary factor in determining the professionals' political allegiance was the state of the market for their skills. The lawyers provide the best illustration. On the Continent, both in the French Revolution and in 1848, they formed a high proportion of the revolutionaries, yet in England and the United States they were consistent supporters of the existing order.²¹ Questions of the type of law practiced and the kind of legal education received may well have been involved,²² but the striking fact is that there existed in England and the United States, in contrast to the Continent, a large business class that needed and paid well for a wide range of legal services.

The professions suffered where a strong business group did not exist

²⁰ Prince Metternich, *Memoirs*, ed. Prince Richard Metternich (5 vols., New York, 1880-82), III, 467, 465.

²¹ Both Cobban and Palmer emphasize the revolutionary role of the lawyers on the Continent. (See note 18, above.) Nassau William Senior, *Journals kept in France and Italy from 1848 to 1852 with a Sketch of the Revolution of 1848*, ed. M. C. M. Simpson (2d ed., 2 vols., London, 1871), I, 313, II, 16-17, was struck by the low social position and limited prospect of advancement of lawyers in Piedmont and Naples. One must again call attention to Balzac for his extensive and varied treatment of the legal profession. For Germany, see Lenore O'Boyle, "The Democratic Left in Germany, 1848," *Journal of Modern History*, XXXIII (Dec. 1961), 377-79. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Phillips Bradley (2 vols., New York, 1945), I, 283-90, contrasted the revolutionary character of French lawyers with the conservative character of English and American lawyers and explained the contrast by the different positions held by the legal profession in the three societies. Robert Robson, *The Attorney in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1959), 153-54, deals with Halévy's judgment that English attorneys, because of their low social standing, were a potentially revolutionary group. Walter Bagehot indicated that while in France it was the press that offered the best chance for dramatic upward mobility, in England it was the bar. ("Letters on the French Coup d'État of 1851," in *The Works and Life of Walter Bagehot*, ed. Mrs. Russell Barrington [9 vols., London, 1915], I, 126.)

²² There are interesting suggestions in Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Bradley, I, 286-87, and Palmer, *Age of the Democratic Revolution*, II, 466-67.

because then they could serve only the aristocracy or the state. Noble societies, being agrarian, offered comparatively few outlets for the services of professionals.²³ The European nobility, moreover, was in general declining economically throughout the century, and there was apt to be a difficult period of transition before the loss to the national economy could be compensated by the growth of industry.

There remained only the state as a source of employment. Hence that enormous pressure for government office or state employment that impressed nineteenth-century observers arose. England was the single great exception.²⁴ The phenomenon was of course more marked as the observer moved east since it coincided with the delayed impact of the Industrial Revolution and the attendant lack of a business group with accessory professional jobs. It was also certainly connected with continental traditions of the absolute state built on the foundation of a great bureaucracy and the prestige associated with membership in such a bureaucracy. In Europe, moreover, the professions themselves were to some extent creations of the state, as in England and America they were creations of the middle class; in the absence of a strong middle class only the state had the resources to meet certain civil and military needs, and in the process it created a body of servants whose character was half bureaucratic, half professional.²⁵

In the long run this situation could not completely satisfy the professionals, if for no other reason than that there were narrower limits set to expansion of the state apparatus and the number of state employees than to business enterprise. Also, the nobility exploited its traditional superiority to monopolize public office as much as possible. It may very well be that one result was an overproduction of intellectuals in certain countries during this period; there is considerable evidence pointing in this direction for France and Germany.²⁶ Ambitious young men sought a higher education as the road to success in the free professions and the state, only to find that there

²³ In England an enterprising and rich landed nobility was closely linked to the growth of the professions. (See Robson, *Attorney in Eighteenth Century England*; David Spring, *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century: Its Administration* [Baltimore, 1963], 56-57, 60-61, 79, 96-97; Thompson, *English Landed Society*, 153-61.)

²⁴ This apparently ceased to be true later in the century. (Frank Musgrove, "Middle Class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century," *Economic History Review*, XII [Aug. 1959], 99-111.)

²⁵ Fischer develops this point in regard to Russia in *Russian Liberalism*. Prussia is a perfect example of what is meant—a country whose universities in this period were intended primarily for the training of officials, and whose bureaucracy was deeply and directly involved in economic development.

²⁶ This is a problem of great interest, but relevant evidence is hard to assemble and to assess. There is the impressive study of Henri Brunschwig, *La crise de l'état prussien à la fin du XVIII^e siècle et la genèse de la mentalité romantique* (Paris, 1947). I have tried in my previously cited article, "Democratic Left in Germany, 1848," to assemble some evidence on this question for the pre-1848 period in Germany. For France the subject is treated briefly by Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration* (Paris, 1955), 319-23, and touched on by

were too few jobs to go around. If opportunities in business were also inadequate or were regarded as inferior in status, then the frustration of the intellectuals could become a revolutionary factor, and does seem to have become so in 1848.

In politics the professionals had obvious grounds for cooperation with both business and officials. All three groups were egalitarian in so far as that meant the career open to talent and an end to aristocratic privilege. They shared a bias in favor of policies determined by purely rational considerations rather than tradition. Each of the three stood to benefit from any growth in the size and complexity of society since such growth meant a corresponding increase in the demands for goods and professional services. These common values and aspirations made for a degree of unity in action among the three groups that justifies use of the term "middle class." The term should not, however, be used in such a way as to obscure the differences and tensions among businessmen, professionals, and officials. Professional men could not approve the putative materialism of businessmen and some of the social consequences of business activity. Tensions also arose from the disparity in economic rewards and social prestige enjoyed by businessmen and the professions. The most important differences, however, arose between business and professional men on the one hand and state officials on the other. Businessmen and the professionals distrusted the state, resented its direction of their activities, and increasingly demanded more personal and economic freedom; state officials quite naturally tended to enlarge the sphere of state action and to judge any opposition to themselves as a reflection of group self-interest.

The role of the state officials is probably the most difficult to analyze. They were professional men, inasmuch as they had special intellectual skills and lived by the sale of them. There was, however, an ambivalence toward the dominant economic groups built into their role. On the one hand the official's chief professional obligation was to preserve the stability and well-being of the state, and accordingly he had no choice but to pay attention to the economic elite on whose functioning so much of the country's strength depended. On the other hand, since the welfare of the total society is never perfectly coincident with the interests of any one group no matter how important economically, the state official in the exercise of his profession found himself forced to override any class interest that he judged inimical to the social welfare.

While the official necessarily had an ambivalent attitude toward the

Adeline Daumard, *La bourgeoisie parisienne de 1815 à 1848* (Paris, 1963), 80. The theme, as so much else, receives extended treatment in the novels of Balzac.

dominant economic interests, he in turn was more or less distrusted and opposed by them. In representative systems this tension was even institutionalized in the relationship between career officials and elected representatives, the career official identifying with the state, the elected official identifying with a specific social group and as a rule expressing resentment and distrust of bureaucratic regulation.²⁷ In both representative and nonrepresentative systems, however, this clash between official and nonofficial was always mitigated by common class membership, for the state official was by background and education, or by choice, almost always a member of the upper class that disputed control of the state.

The discussion has, to this point, represented an attempt to generalize at a low level about the nature and behavior of elements in the early nineteenth-century middle class. If these generalizations have any validity, they should help in understanding concrete developments in the various countries, in each of which there was a somewhat different relationship among the same three elements.

In France the Restoration saw a conflict between nobility and bourgeoisie for control of the offices of state that culminated in 1830 with the victory of the middle class.²⁸ Itself bourgeois, the bureaucracy could be expected to serve the bourgeoisie rather than the aristocracy or the laboring class. The character of this French bourgeoisie has puzzled historians. The chief difficulties may perhaps be reduced to two: the weakness of French industry and the predominance of landowners in the population.²⁹

Compared to England, French industry was a minor element in the total economy and was unprogressive in method and spirit. This was to remain true until the time of Napoleon III. The financiers constituted the leading group in the business world, and even they were not notably venturesome. These truths can, however, be overemphasized. French industry grew steadily, if unspectacularly. It always contained a significant group successfully involved in innovation and expansion. Moreover, industry now operated in the different psychological climate and legal framework brought about by the Revolution. With proper reservations made as to any sweeping victory of "capitalism" over "feudalism," the fact remains that the Revolution did

²⁷ This point is developed by Thomson, *Democracy in France*, 58-64.

²⁸ Rémond, *Droite en France*, 55-57.

²⁹ For an excellent summary of economic development, see Guy de Palmade, *Capitalisme et capitalistes français au XIX siècle* (Paris, 1961); see also D. S. Landes, "French Entrepreneurship and Industrial Growth in the nineteenth Century," *Journal of Economic History*, IX (May 1949), 45-61. An acute analysis of Cobban's *Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* is made by Jeffry Kaplow in the *American Historical Review*, LXX (July 1965), 1094-96.

bring about a new conception of property that cleared the way for capitalistic practices. The picture of the French bourgeoisie is then of a small business group, a substantial contingent of professional men and state officials, and a large group of landowners. There is difficulty in treating this group as a middle class only if one insists on identifying middle class with businessmen.

The fact that France, even after the Revolution, remained predominantly a nation of landowners lies at the base of Cobban's contention that the Revolution merely substituted one landowning aristocracy for another. Yet the use of the word aristocracy is hard to accept. Cobban himself notes that the new holders of land were of a different class and type from the old. It is true that information about the transfer of land during the Revolution is inadequate, but surely it is impossible to deny that in the early nineteenth century much land was held by peasants who had benefited from legal changes that gave them outright ownership of land and by a *rentier* group who owned land but could scarcely have been classified as professional farmers.

The small and medium peasant proprietors whose occupation was farming and who held land in private ownership must surely be accounted middle class. The question is whether, particularly in view of their numbers, they should not be treated as a main component of the middle class along with business, the professions, and the officials. The decision not to treat them as such is based on the observation that the peasantry in France, as in other countries, was as a rule a passive rather than a dynamic factor, held back from effective action by lack of organization. "Their mode of production isolates them from one another," wrote Marx, "instead of bringing them into mutual intercourse. . . . the great mass of the French nation is formed by simple addition of homologous magnitudes, much as potatoes in a sack form a sackful of potatoes."⁸⁰ The landowning peasantry seldom acted positively in its own right; it could more effectively prevent than initiate change.

The *rentier* group constitutes a genuine difficulty for analysis. There existed a category of persons who drew an income from land and who, even if as individuals they belonged to one of the three main occupational groups of the middle class, may well have had a kind of function and influence different from that of either business, the professions, or the officials. The existence of this group blurs the outline of a middle class neatly divided

⁸⁰ Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," in *Selected Works*, ed. Adoratsky and Dutt, II, 414-15.

into three elements. It is clear, however, that this category of landowners was very closely bound up with the business, professional, and official groups. Many townspeople bought land because it was still regarded as the safest of investments, but continued to act as businessmen and to live in the towns. A number bought land as a symbol of status, but again this did not necessarily mean that they abandoned all connections with business. Many who did live on the land practiced concurrently as professional men or held official state positions. In view of these considerations it does not appear necessary to treat the *rentier* group as a fourth basic component of the middle class, at least not until further investigation demonstrates that the landowners did in fact have a psychology and interests differing significantly from those of business, the professions, and the officials. Provisionally it seems justifiable to retain the accepted picture of a bourgeoisie composed of bankers, officials, merchants, landowners, and professional men, held together by wealth and common values, and cut off equally from a laboring class to whose sufferings it was singularly oblivious and from the remnants of an aristocracy that no longer represented significant social power.³¹ The tone of the new age was brilliantly reflected in the descriptions of one of its great novelists, Balzac, and in the attacks of one of its great critics, Marx.

An examination of the way in which France was governed confirms the picture of bourgeois ascendancy. A legal framework recast by the Revolution favored the middle class at the expense of the rest of the people. French officialdom was homogeneous, a group confined within their class culture to such an extent that they seem to have lost the necessary sense of the good of the whole. Their failure to rule France responsibly pointed to the possibility that the victory of the middle class had been too complete a triumph. No organized and effective group remained outside of the bourgeoisie to put pressure on the bureaucracy. Political life was largely limited to conflict within the bourgeoisie, and the conflict centered less on matters of principle than on a fierce competition for the spoils of office.

This struggle for office that was such a marked feature of the period in France is explicable in terms of the conjunction, peculiar to France, of a comparatively undeveloped industry with a political system based on recognition of popular sovereignty. Ambitious young men without appreciable means found few openings in business. Study for the professions was expensive, and competition within them was very keen. The former sense of government as something apart from and even opposed to the people had

³¹ Nothing could better demonstrate the middle-class lack of sympathy and understanding for the workers than the comments of so liberal and astute an observer as Tocqueville on the Revolution of 1848. (Alexis de Tocqueville, *Recollections*, ed. J. P. Mayer [New York, 1949].)

been all but lost, while the career open to talent made possible a positive valuation and lively expectation of upward social mobility. Government office retained the prestige built up through centuries of absolutism and culminating in Napoleon. When it is remembered in addition that the French population was appreciably younger than it was to be later,³² and that in 1815 much of Napoleon's machinery of government had to be discarded as superfluous, then the extent and vigor of the demand for public office become understandable.³³ Influence was needed to get and retain office, a fact that worked against any strong sense of official independence. Personal ambition rather than principle tended to absorb men's energies.³⁴

The English prided themselves on having no important group of salaried officials and relied in both central and local government on the largely unpaid services of the aristocracy. Here, if anywhere, one might have expected to see class rule in unadulterated form. Such, however, was not the case.

Several factors acted to qualify the class character of English government. One was the tradition of state service that the English aristocracy shared with the Prussian. Another characteristic the English aristocracy shared with their Prussian counterpart was a limited readiness to admit successful commoners into their ranks, thus broadening aristocratic thinking and adding to aristocratic reserves of talent. Of crucial importance—and here again there is the parallel with Prussia—was the fact that certain elites emerged from the aristocracy to devote themselves almost completely to the management of public affairs. It is true that in England these elites were not organized into a bureaucracy as they were in Prussia, obviously an important difference. They had, however, the same basic commitment to government as an occupation, and they thus formed a group at least analogous to the state officials of Europe. It was because some of England's aristocracy developed a professional attitude toward government that the aristocracy as a whole displayed the capacity repeatedly to rise above narrow class interests.³⁵ If this is not understood, then English developments in this period

³² Bertier de Sauvigny, *Restauration*, 319. Relatively young men had been given administrative posts during the revolutionary and Napoleonic period and even under the Restoration; thus still younger men were blocked indefinitely from advancement.

³³ Contemporary witnesses to this competition for office were numerous. As revealing a statement as any is Tocqueville's frequently quoted remark: "The truth—the deplorable truth—is that a taste for holding office and a desire to live on the public money is not with us a disease restricted to either party, but the great, chronic ailment of the whole nation. . . ." (Tocqueville, *Recollections*, ed. Mayer, 31–32.)

³⁴ See note 11, above. Government majorities in the Chamber under the July Monarchy were notoriously dependent on the votes of the official deputies.

³⁵ There was a differentiation within the ruling class akin to that indicated by historians of England who use the terminology "aristocracy and gentry" and "court and country," though the expressions have also more extended and varied meanings.

would seem in the main paradoxical: Lord Liverpool advocating laissez faire; the Duke of Wellington forcing through Catholic emancipation; Lord Grey reforming the franchise to admit businessmen to a share in government; a Tory government (led by the son of a cotton manufacturer) carrying the repeal of the corn laws.³⁶

Later in the century England did develop a true bureaucracy. Professionalism in general had increased throughout the eighteenth century, as an aspect of society's growing complexity, and in the nineteenth century a salaried state bureaucracy was revealed as a necessity in an industrial society. To study this process is to see how a profession imposes certain ways of thinking on those who practice it. The men who entered the civil service had been educated in the school of laissez faire, in which individualism and self-help were axiomatic bases of policy. Exposed to the realities of English society, they gained a new understanding of how society determines the individual's fate and ended as exponents of state action to help the powerless.³⁷

One more feature of English society should be mentioned. Unlike France, England preserved a landed aristocracy that was cohesive and strong, and accordingly England never developed the overwhelmingly middle-class tone of French society.³⁸ Aristocracy and middle class shared the benefits of privilege, but they also checked each other. In practice this meant that the different groups within the ruling class were driven to bid for popular support against each other, and the lower classes often benefited from the competition.

Turning to Prussia one finds the same marked orientation of the nobility toward state service as in England, but social patterns were very different. The particular interest of the Prussian case lies in the shifting relationship between a very strong nobility on the one hand and a highly developed bureaucracy on the other.

³⁶ Thus arose Halévy's questions about the two-party system. George Kitson Clark, *Peel and the Conservative Party* (2d ed., Hamden, Conn., 1964), and Norman Gash, *Mr. Secretary Peel: The Life of Sir Robert Peel to 1830* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), have both made the contrast between the man of party and the administrator central to their interpretation of Peel.

³⁷ David Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State* (New Haven, Conn., 1960), 152-85.

³⁸ On the ability of the English nobility to impose its values on the wealthy middle class, see Rupert Wilkinson, *Gentlemanly Power: British Leadership and the Public School System* (London, 1964). Matthew Arnold noted that students of the established professions in England attended the small number of great schools and universities, and so were attached to the aristocracy and cut off from the industrial middle class that received an inferior education. Arnold contrasted this with the situation on the Continent, where the upper and middle classes were brought up on the same plane. (Matthew Arnold, "Schools and Universities on the Continent," in *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed. R. H. Super [5 vols. to date, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1960-], IV, 308-309.)

Prussian officials came from the nobility or middle class in proportions that varied under successive rulers.³⁹ The decisive factor, however, was not class origin. Officials from the middle class were so strongly attracted by the prospect of noble status that they desired nothing so much as assimilation into the nobility, and since the Prussian nobility was, like the English, a relatively open one, it absorbed the best talents of the middle class who made their way up in the bureaucratic hierarchy. In effect the Prussian nobility succeeded in capturing the bureaucracy. Accordingly the growth of bureaucracy did not lead to a loss of aristocratic privilege so much as to a growth of aristocratic power.⁴⁰

Still, a slight shift of focus raises a question. One can emphasize the feudalization of the bureaucracy, but could one not as easily argue that the nobility was bureaucratized? However close, the nobility's ethos of state service was not the same as the official's sense of professional responsibility for the state. A certain degree of role conflict for the noble-bureaucrat or bureaucrat-noble was unavoidable and can be traced throughout modern Prussian history. Was he primarily a noble or an official? If in the eighteenth century the officials identified with the nobles against the king on the issue of serf emancipation,⁴¹ nevertheless, in the period before 1806, many officials became increasingly aware of the need for reform and moved, if too hesitantly, in that direction.⁴² In the face of disaster in 1806 reformers and reform plans were there to be used, and it was the bureaucracy that rebuilt the state; no period better illustrates the coexistence within officialdom and nobility of considerations of self-interest and a disinterested concern for the good of the whole.⁴³ In the end the bureaucracy was forced to make substantial concessions to the nobility, and the *Junkers* preserved more of their privileges than was probably good for the state. Nonetheless the state was

³⁹ W. L. Dorn, "The Prussian Bureaucracy in the 18th Century," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLVI (Sept. 1931), 403-23, XLVII (Mar., June 1932), 75-94, 259-73; Hans Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience 1660-1815* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*; Nikolaus von Preradovich, *Die Führungsschichten in Österreich und Preussen (1804-1918) mit einem Ausblick bis zum Jahre 1945* (Wiesbaden, 1955).

⁴¹ They did not do so for purely selfish reasons, however; there were objective considerations relating to the effect of emancipation on tax collection and the labor supply that played a part in official thinking. (G. F. Knapp, *Die Bauernbefreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeit in den älteren Theilen Preussens* [2d ed., 2 vols., Munich, 1927], I, 81-117.)

⁴² Otto Hintze, "Preussische Reformbestrebungen vor 1806," *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXVI (No. 3, 1896), 413-43.

⁴³ W. M. Simon, *The Failure of the Prussian Reform Movement, 1807-1819* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1955), 12-13, 233; Rudolf Stadelmann, *Scharnhorst. Schicksal und geistige Welt: Ein Fragment* (Wiesbaden, 1952), 60-65; Friedrich Meinecke, *Das Leben des Generalfeldmarschalls Hermann von Boyen* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1896-99), I, 173-74, 195-96, 288, 290-92, 411. Meinecke concludes that the nobility as a whole could have moved decisively in the direction of either reform or reaction, depending on the attitude of the king. (*Ibid.*, II, 355.)

reformed. Prussia remained a great power, guided by a governing class composed of nobility and bureaucracy in partnership. The loser was the monarch; the officials won their long struggle to make his arbitrary intervention in affairs of state next to impossible.⁴⁴ The bureaucracy, now servants of the state rather than the king, ruled with notable efficiency, a regard for legality and established procedures, and a concern for the interests of both capital and labor. In time the Prussian bureaucracy lost its monopoly of power through its very success; 1848 showed that it had furthered social growth to the point where society felt strong enough to do without bureaucratic direction and demanded to rule itself.⁴⁵

An argument might even be made that the bureaucracy remained the core of the ruling class in Germany up to 1917. No genuine parliamentary government evolved, political parties increasingly assumed the character of interest groups, and the officials remained as the only group permanently concerned with the good of the state as a whole. It is true that Count Leo von Caprivi failed when he tried consciously to base his rule on the bureaucracy; his failure would seem to indicate that the bureaucracy did not represent independent power and could not for any length of time oppose powerful groups such as the *Junkers*.⁴⁶ Yet the study of German political life in the second half of the century also suggests that the state apparatus was at no time under the undisputed control of any one social group and that it always acted to some extent as an independent mediator among the interests. The *Junkers* enjoyed an unhealthy degree of influence within the bureaucracy, and this led to dangerous social strains, but it seems unwarranted to conclude that the nobility, as such, ruled Germany. In the last analysis, does not the evidence suggest that Germany was ruled by career officials who always thought and acted as professional civil servants at least as much as members of a social class?⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy*, 173 ff.; Huber, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, II, 16-19.

⁴⁵ Reinhart Koselleck, "Staat und Gesellschaft in Preussen 1815-1848," in *Staat und Gesellschaft im deutschen Vormärz 1815-1848*, ed. Werner Conze (Stuttgart, 1962), 79-112; Jacques Droz, *Le libéralisme rhénan 1815-1848* (Paris, 1940).

⁴⁶ J. A. Nichols, *Germany after Bismarck: The Caprivi Era, 1890-1894* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958).

⁴⁷ Nineteenth-century Russia may be mentioned here as showing a variant of the type of service nobility. The Russian nobility had a strongly marked bureaucratic stamp from an early period, having been traditionally treated as paid servants of the state rather than as nobles enjoying independent power based on the control of land and local government. The service ethos, though, seems not to have gone very deep, no doubt because service had been too often extracted by coercion from above, and when they were permitted to do so in the eighteenth century, many nobles simply withdrew from state service and settled down to live on their estates. Important groups, however, retained the bureaucratic mentality, which led them to think of themselves primarily as career officials in the imperial service, relying on their landholding for revenue rather than power. While the majority of nobles in the nineteenth century showed little aptitude or will to preserve their economic and political power, the bureaucratic

The states of southern and western Germany in this period showed yet another balance of forces. There the aristocracy was not so strong as in Prussia and England, and the middle class not so developed as in France. The state officials came from both nobility and middle class. In the late eighteenth century the state officials more than the purely middle-class elements took the lead against the aristocracy, their aggressiveness reflecting both their commitment to Enlightenment ideas and their resentment against the aristocratic monopoly of high office. The officials had much their own way under the Confederation of the Rhine, when they enjoyed an opportunity to modernize their states by reconstructing them on the Napoleonic model. Bureaucrats and middle class in general cooperated because their interests coincided; significantly, the first suggestions for representative institutions came from officials who saw them as a means to limit noble power.⁴⁸

In the post-1815 period both elected assemblies and bureaucracies represented much the same social group, the patriciate of title and wealth, and they were interlocked through the large number of officials who sat as deputies in the assemblies. The importance of these bureaucratic deputies was enormous. For one thing they were the most esteemed and experienced element in a middle class made up largely of professors, lawyers, and journalists. Their aims as officials coincided, moreover, with the aims of the rest of the middle class; all wanted a modern, antifeudal state. Along with this often went, somewhat inconsistently, a common traditionalism in economic matters, a tendency to think in terms of small enterprise and to distrust and fear the rising plutocracy.⁴⁹

This identity of interests had its limits. Predictably, opposition crystallized around the officials' tendency to give primacy to the interest of the state, as they conceived it, over any class interest. The business and professional middle class grew increasingly resentful of bureaucratic restrictions and raised demands for greater economic and intellectual freedom. The conviction spread that the bureaucracies were not up to the economic demands of the time, while such things as government censorship began to seem intolerable.⁵⁰ Thus the middle-class official in southern Germany found him-

nobility identified with the state so closely that they sacrificed their own economic interests as serf owners in an attempt to check the state's decline. It was the bureaucratic nobility and the absolute monarch, rather than any strong middle class, that forced serf emancipation on the reluctant majority of the aristocracy. Here were an aristocratic officialdom limiting the powers of its own class, and an absolute state, in the interests of Russia's survival and growth, encouraging those middle-class elements that were sure to oppose absolutism.

⁴⁸ Valjavec, *Entstehung der politischen Strömungen*, 77-87.

⁴⁹ See note 12, above; see also Wolfram Fischer, "Staat und Gesellschaft Badens im Vormärz," in *Staat und Gesellschaft*, ed. Conze, 143-72.

⁵⁰ Wolfgang Hock, *Liberales Denken im Zeitalter der Paulskirche: Droysen und die Frankfurter Mitte* (Münster in Westfalen, 1957).

self involved in much the same kind of role conflict as his noble colleague in Prussia. The conflict was brought into the open by continuing controversy in all the German states regarding an official's right to take leave of absence from his regular duties to attend the *Landtag* as a deputy. Probably this ambivalence of role weakened the liberal movement, for it was difficult for a liberal deputy to oppose the same government he simultaneously served as an official. Also the prominence of the official element in the liberal movement may well have been connected with the strain of glorification of the state found in much German liberal thought.

In conclusion, it may be suggested that the above analysis has a bearing on problems of social stability and social change in this period.

Businessmen, professionals, and state officials helped to preserve a stable society because each group worked for the same ends and each profited from the success of the others. The businessmen used and rewarded the intellectuals to perform those functions for which business direction was unsuited. In return the intellectuals worked toward the creation of a type of society in which the economically dominant groups could function securely: the bureaucrat ran the political machinery; the teacher and journalist propagated appropriate values; the lawyer was the indispensable middleman between business and the state. The universities formed the bureaucrat; in turn the bureaucrat determined how the universities were to function. All in all, each relationship among the different middle-class groups confirmed adherence to a common set of values, strengthened the unity of the middle class, and made possible the emergence of middle-class, nineteenth-century society.

At the same time, the existence of a measure of independence in the functioning of the bureaucracy and the professions was apparent; it was in this way that necessary social change could be translated into political and moral terms. The crucial factor was the way in which professional interest cut across class affiliation. This is not to be explained in terms of the supposed disinterestedness of the professions as contrasted with the selfish search for profit on the part of businessmen or landowners.⁵¹ The professional man wanted success and economic rewards just as the businessman did. It was rather that the professional person worked against his own success if he neglected professional considerations, and thus he found himself at some points required to act in ways that might not directly satisfy the economically dominant groups. The bureaucrat provided the clearest example of this

⁵¹ See Talcott Parsons' now-classic essay, "The Professions and Social Structure," in *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied* (Glencoe, Ill., 1949), 185-200.

conflict; he could not be totally subservient to the ruling class without harming the state, which it was his professional obligation to safeguard. Similarly, the teacher's obligation was not only to indoctrinate students with prevailing values but also to help them to think objectively and critically, activity as apt to subvert as to consolidate. A successful journalist had to maintain some standards of objectivity. Even the lawyer, who was doubtless tied most closely to the economic elite, had to work within a framework of existing law that was not subject to endless manipulation in his client's interest.

Those who paid for the intellectuals' services may not always have been pleased with what the intellectuals did. Their acceptance of what was done must have involved a belief that it was necessary for the attainment of larger purposes; there was no getting around the fact that without social stability there would be neither private profit nor social status. Moreover, a profession by definition involves esoteric knowledge and special skills; thus outsiders are for the most part incapable of intelligent supervision. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed a great expansion of the professions, and a striking feature of this growth was the way in which the professions succeeded in becoming largely self-regulating. They developed a high degree of control over the admission of new members, the setting of standards of competence, and the definition of operating procedures. In the case of the state official the acquisition of tenure gave considerable security against interference from both politicians and the public. Clearly this marked an enormous advance in independence against even the most economically powerful.

The hypothesis may be considered that where this professionalism did not develop, government became dangerously identified with one social interest. Class considerations then outweighed the sense of professional responsibility. This seems to have been the case in France before 1848.

Winston Churchill versus the Webbs: The Origins of British Unemployment Insurance

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AMONG the several legislative experiments that constitute the social reform program of Herbert Asquith's prewar Liberal administration, the measure most wildly empirical, most fraught with economic and political danger, was compulsory insurance against unemployment, which appeared as Part II of the National Insurance Act of 1911. Never before had a nation required its citizens to insure against the vagaries of the labor market. Even the Germans, whose influence on British social welfare experiments was critical, had been unwilling to attempt unemployment insurance.¹

Although many publications dealing with the general topic of compulsory unemployment insurance in Great Britain have appeared, the political and ideological origins of the measure have been only slightly explored. Because the mass unemployment of the 1920's and 1930's destroyed the program for a time as a plan of insurance, modern histories have neglected the prewar problems that unemployment insurance had been designed to solve and have underestimated the very real legislative craftsmanship and political daring involved in framing the measure.²

The intent of this study is to show that the attack on unemployment marked a significant *départure* in Liberal welfare planning, the beginning of what may be termed the pioneering phase of social reform. The early

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¹ Only one political authority, the Swiss canton of Saint Gallen, ever attempted compulsory unemployment insurance. Within two years, between 1895 and 1897, the Saint Gallen scheme went bankrupt. In its last year, claims for benefit were over twice the income from contributions.

² Perhaps the fullest investigation of the early history of unemployment insurance is Helen Fisher Hohman, *The Development of Social Insurance and Minimum Wage Legislation in Great Britain* (Boston, 1933), 214-23. But the author confines herself largely to the parliamentary politics of the measure and admits bewilderment on its origins. "Unlike the other measures of Liberal social reform, the Unemployment Insurance Act is anonymous." (*Ibid.*, 216; see also Charles W. Pipkin, *Social Politics in Modern Democracies* [2 vols., New York, 1931], I, 231-42.) Generally the writers of the thirties tried to find a connection between unemployment insurance and the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws. Neither of the two above recognized Winston Churchill's importance in this field. The best-informed, but very brief, account is William H. Beveridge's *Unemployment: A Problem of Industry* (2d ed., London, 1931), 264. Unfortunately, Beveridge confines himself to a description of the scheme and some of the administrative problems, although he does emphasize Churchill's contribution.

measures of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's administration—the feeding and medical inspection of school children and noncontributory old-age pensions—had been discussed and approved by philanthropic politicians and social thinkers of all parties long before the Liberals ever came to power. Unemployment insurance and the measures with which it was associated were wholly the product of planning within the government. They were conceived by professional civil servants, and by politicians, many of whom were acquainted with current social thinking and were aware of external pressures for reform but who had as their more important goals personal advancement and Liberal political advantage.

By the mid-1880's unemployment had become what it would remain for the next half century: Great Britain's most intractable economic problem. While philanthropists could point to unhealthy school children or neglected old people as an accusation against the British social conscience, unemployment was a blot on the capitalist system itself. Here the inexorable laws of economics, not the improvidence of individuals, were the causes of hardship. Classical economists, businessmen, and socialists all tended to agree that a pool of unengaged workmen, desperate for jobs, was vital to efficient functioning of the free enterprise system. Henry George's equation of progress and poverty seemed to be an unhappy fact. Short of the abolition of capitalism, partisans of both Left and Right concluded little could be done about unemployment.

Yet whatever were the opinions of academic and socialist theoreticians, well before the turn of the century practical politicians had understood that something would have to be done about the unemployed, if not about unemployment. No matter what the cause of the idle man's condition, after 1885 he was a man with a vote. Moreover, he was now a man who could read pamphlets and newspapers that encouraged him to try to better his condition, either by the use of his vote or, finally, by the threat of violence.³ The West End Riot of February 1886, although small by European standards, marks the end of complacency about the unemployed poor.⁴ After the riot

³ Sidney Webb had warned the Royal Commission on Labour in 1892 that collectivism was "the economic obverse of democracy." Asked why, he answered: "It appears to me that if you allow the tramway conductor to vote he will not forever be satisfied with exercising that vote over such matters as the appointment of the Ambassador to Paris, or even the position of the franchise. . . . He will more and more seek to convert his political democracy into what one may roughly term an industrial democracy, so that he may obtain some kind of control as a voter over the condition under which he lives." (Quoted in Helen M. Lynd, *England in the Eighteen Eighties* [New York, 1945], 185–86.)

⁴ Lord Elton's assessment of the demonstration on February 8 deserves to be repeated: "This was not the last riot in Trafalgar Square at which the Socialists would assist. But hereafter even head-breaking would be but head-breaking: never again the glimpse of chaos, the sudden

the poor were more to be feared than pitied, and money formerly given in charity was now paid as ransom. At the same time both parties sought to adapt their political programs to the new element in the electorate. The Liberal party's Newcastle Program and Joseph Chamberlain's old-age pension proposals are two of the more familiar among the many political responses to the growing power of the worker.

While the pressure for social reform subsided briefly during a period of good economic conditions around the turn of the century, by 1903 the number of men out of work began again to increase. By 1905 trade-union unemployment stood at 5 per cent, the highest figure in over ten years.⁵

The Balfour government responded with a program of work relief, the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905. The provision by the local authorities of work in public parks, roads, or forests had been the rule in hard times since the riots of 1886 when Joseph Chamberlain had issued a circular permitting counties and boroughs to engage the unemployed on temporary public works projects. Whether the work provided was pleasant, inexpensive, or useful did not matter. There was only one stipulation: it must not pauperize. The Unemployed Workmen Act was the last attempt to use the device of artificial work to maintain the respectable unemployed through periods of economic depression.

Work relief was a failure, as William Henry Beveridge would show in 1909, because it was based on a mistaken conception of the nature of unemployment. A numerical rise in the amount of unemployment, Beveridge pointed out in his classic statement, *Unemployment: A Problem of Industry*, did not mean that a certain number of men, formerly steadily employed, suddenly lost their jobs.⁶ It meant, rather, that men for whom work was always irregular found the interval between engagements longer and their standard of living nearer the subsistence level. The problem was not unemployment, but "underemployment." Work relief, as an alternative to the poor law, was of little use to the thrifty artisan whose unemployment was

dread which had clutched for a moment at the heart of London. London would not lose its head again, although there would remain, no doubt, many citizens who privately believed that the revolution might yet be." (Godfrey Elton, *England Arise: A Study in the Pioneering Days of the Labour Movement* [London, 1931], 135.)

⁵ Trade-union unemployment figures, although providing the only uniform and continuous data on the state of British employment before the end of the First World War, are far from satisfactory. (For a discussion, see Beveridge, *Unemployment*, 16-28.) Not until the end of the century did unemployment become clearly separated for the public and political world from the general problem of "distress" and from pauperism. R. C. K. Ensor notes in his *England, 1870-1914* (Oxford, Eng., 1936, 112), that the word "unemployment" did not appear in the *Oxford English Dictionary* until 1888. "Unemployed" as a separate category arrived in the index of the parliamentary debates only in 1902, and "unemployment" in 1908.

⁶ Beveridge, *Unemployment*, 189-90.

no fault of his own. The respectable workingman, put out of work by the bankruptcy of his employer, bad weather, a technological advance, or sheer bad luck, could rarely be induced to apply for a position spading flower beds with casual laborers whom he despised.⁷ He would use up his savings and deprive his family first. Suddenly, perhaps as the result of sickness or some other domestic emergency, he found himself without an alternative to parochial relief. His application to the poor law signified he was a beaten man.

Social reformers of every party agreed this degradation would have to stop. If the Unemployed Workmen Act could not prevent pauperization of the respectable workingman, and clearly it did not, Parliament had better find a plan that did. The working classes, moreover, were not disposed to wait for timid politicians. The election of January 1906 brought into Parliament, besides an overwhelming Liberal majority, fifty-three workingmen, of whom twenty-nine had been elected on the Labour Representation Committee platform, which had promised, unlike the Liberal program, a variety of social reforms.⁸

The bright prospects with which the Liberals took office in the winter of 1905-1906 began to fade within a year. Frustration by the House of Lords, the recovery of several normally Unionist seats in by-elections, and, finally, after a providentially prosperous year in 1906, the arrival in 1907 of the American depression, "The Rich Man's Panic," all combined to destroy the enthusiasm of the previous year. Then, in April 1908, Prime Minister Campbell-Bannerman resigned, to die within the month. He was succeeded by Herbert Asquith, who took the opportunity of his succession to reshuffle the cabinet, moving the focus of power in the government toward the Left. David Lloyd George, the most important radical in the cabinet, received the Exchequer; Winston Churchill, at this time Undersecretary in the Colonial Office and a Liberal of only four years' standing, was offered the choice of several offices and eventually entered the cabinet at the Board of Trade.

⁷ A sampling of typical districts offering work relief under the Unemployed Workmen Act in 1906 showed that: 87 per cent of the applicants for work relief were unskilled; 47 per cent could be classed as "of indifferent efficiency"; 37 per cent were unemployed because of "inefficiency" or "bad character"; only 22 per cent had "good" previous working records; 16 per cent had been members of trade-unions; only 14 per cent gave any evidence of ever having tried to save money through a friendly society or slate club. (Many categories overlap.) (C. J. Hamilton, "The Unemployed," *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* [London, 1906], 651.)

⁸ For some reason a few historians still insist that the Liberals came to power pledged to social reform. (See, e.g., Harold E. Raynes, *Social Security in Britain, A History* [2d ed., London, 1960], 181.) The Liberal attitude on the specific problem of unemployment is illustrated in a letter from Campbell-Bannerman to Herbert Asquith about a week before the Liberals took office. "I had excellent meetings in Glasgow. I found that much mischief was being done by the notion that we had little or nothing to say about the unemployed. So I risked one foot upon the ice, but was very guarded and spoke only of enquirey and experiment." (Campbell-Bannerman to Asquith, Dec. 1, 1905, Herbert H. Asquith Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

Charles Masterman, a younger man whose reputation was then growing almost as rapidly as Churchill's, reluctantly accepted the undersecretaryship at the Local Government Board in the vain hope that he could induce its president, John Burns, to take action about the unemployed.⁹ These three men became at this time the closest personal friends, and from their association evolved a new phase of Liberal reform of which unemployment insurance would be a most important part.

Unemployment insurance was the handiwork of Churchill.¹⁰ It constitutes, perhaps, the major legislative justification for his reiterated claim that he was, at heart, a social reformer.¹¹ But far more important, in moving into the new area of social insurance, Churchill disregarded nearly all previous thinking on social welfare and departed from the precepts of his own mentors concerning this subject, the two people who had taught him most about the principles and techniques of reform legislation, Sidney and Beatrice Webb. To a more experienced social reformer, unemployment insurance would have appeared impossibly dangerous. With a less persuasive advocate, the project might have died from a party veto. Under a minister more influenced by the social thinking of his time, unemployment insurance might never have been considered. No one, least of all Churchill himself, knew how or whether compulsory unemployment insurance would work. In the attack on unemployment, Churchill, whose penchant for political gambling was as marked as his contempt for social theories, led the Liberal cabinet into a dangerous wilderness.

Unemployment insurance signified both Churchill's arrival as a first-rank political figure and his maturation as a social reformer in his own right, independent of the Webbs. This study does not contend that the couple had no influence upon Churchill's social thinking, or that after Churchill's appointment to the cabinet the Webbs were never consulted. They turned him from his previous preoccupation with imperial affairs and demonstrated the political importance of social legislation. They taught him the concept of the national minimum, which was manifest in much of his early writing on reform and which appeared fully developed in the Trade Boards Act of 1909.¹² As, perhaps, their most important specific contribution, the Webbs

⁹ Masterman to Asquith, Apr. 13, 1908, *ibid.*

¹⁰ Lord Beveridge, whose differences with Churchill have been many, asserted on several occasions that the Liberal schemes for unemployment served as an example of the influence that a truly energetic minister could have in a few critical months on a highly technical legislative project, even when dealing with a staff of expert civil servants. (William H. Beveridge, *Power and Influence* [New York, 1955], 87.)

¹¹ See, e.g., his BBC speech on the Beveridge Report on Feb. 21, 1943.

¹² The Trade Boards Act was by no means founded solely upon the Webbs. It was modeled on a program already in effect in Australia, and Sir Charles Dilke had been bringing in bills like it for years.

explained to Churchill the usefulness of labor exchanges, and, by introducing him to Beveridge, they established the partnership that would bring labor exchanges into being as a part of the general attack on unemployment. But after courting him for two years with austere dinners at 41 Grosvenor Road, after applauding his appointment as president of the Board of Trade, and after placing Beveridge beside him, they saw him slip from their grasp. How this happened, and the effect of this occurrence on British welfare legislation, is the substance of this study. In losing Churchill, the Webbs lost perhaps their last opportunity to direct the beginnings of the British welfare state. Social insurance became the alternative to Fabian socialism.

Unemployment insurance grew, first of all, from the Liberals' need for a new party program in the spring of 1908. To Churchill and the other radicals whom Asquith brought into the government, another installment of social reform was the surest way to combat the waning momentum and enthusiasm that had overtaken the party. The Liberal party, Churchill argued, ought to take up the fight for the individual citizen's economic liberty as it had long guarded his political liberty. Old-age pensions, school feeding, and medical inspection had provided the beginning of a solution for the problems of the helpless. But these programs were hardly the sole property of the Liberals; reformers of all parties had advocated them for decades. The political and social explosive of thousands of unengaged workingmen, however, still stood as an immediate problem. The failure of the Unemployed Workmen Act was patent. The government should undertake a broad-scale attack on unemployment from every side. Here lay, as Churchill entitled a long letter to the *Nation* on March 7, 1908, "The Untrodden Field in Politics." Less than a week later Churchill received the offer of the Local Government Board from Asquith and used his letter of refusal to bring his ideas on social reform again to the attention of the Prime Minister designate. This letter is notable first because it illustrates in detail Churchill's ideas on social planning at a time when he was still under the influence of the Webbs, before the intimacy with Lloyd George, and second because of its attention to the example of Germany, which would color all future British social planning.¹³

... attempts to grapple with the evils of unemployment must be concerted between all departments. Youth must be educated and disciplined and trained from 14 to 18. The exploitation of Boy Labour must be absolutely stopped. The Army must be made to afford a life-long career of State Employment, to at least at any

¹³ Winston Churchill, "The Untrodden Field in Politics," *Nation*, III (Mar. 7, 1908). Mrs. Webb, in fact, gave her husband credit for the *Nation* letter in *Our Partnership* (New York, 1948), 404.

rate a larger proportion of its soldiers on leaving the colours. Labour must be decasualized by a system of Labour Exchanges. The resultant residuum [*sic*] must be curatively treated exactly as if they were hospital patients. The hours of labour must be regulated in various trades subject to seasonal and cyclical fluctuations. Means must be found by which the State can, within certain limits, and for short periods, augment the demand for the ordinary market for unskilled labour so far as to counterbalance the oscillations of world-trade. Underneath, but not in substitution for, the immense disjointed fabric of social safeguards and insurance which has grown up by itself in England, there must be—at a low level—a sort of Germanized network of state intervention and regulation.¹⁴

Churchill's admiration for German social institutions was evident in all his writing. Very likely this interest turned Lloyd George toward the study of the German welfare program. The Chancellor's famous trip to Germany in August 1908 was the result; from this trip came the basic institution of the new phase of Liberal reform: social insurance.

Although the Germans did not insure against unemployment, Lloyd George's observations of that country's old-age and sickness insurance programs clearly provided the idea for using the same system for attacking English unemployment.¹⁵ Probably neither Lloyd George nor Harold Spender, who accompanied him on this trip, nor Churchill understood, or even knew of, the arguments against unemployment insurance. But although the Chancellor later regretted that he had "in a weak moment" given the idea for unemployment insurance to Churchill, who had taken it to the Board of Trade and produced his own scheme, it is clear that in one way or another—probably from conversations between Lloyd George and Churchill—there grew the proposal for using the "magic of averages" as a remedy for economic distress in Great Britain.¹⁶ It is unimportant whether Lloyd George actually provided Churchill with the germ of the plan; the production of the scheme was Churchill's entire responsibility. Not only would he be most important in inducing a reluctant, divided, and rather frightened Liberal

¹⁴ Churchill to Asquith, Mar. 14, 1908, Asquith Papers. Churchill, Masterman, and Beveridge had dined with the Webbs only four days earlier. This meeting may have settled his decision. Edward Marsh, then his private secretary, records that Churchill remarked of the Local Government Board: "I refuse to be shut up in a soup kitchen with Mrs. Sidney Webb." (Edward Marsh, *A Number of People, A Book of Reminiscences* [New York, 1939], 163.)

¹⁵ In 1906 the Imperial Labour Office had investigated possible schemes of compulsory unemployment insurance and had advised against all of them.

¹⁶ On Lloyd George's claim for the original authorship for unemployment insurance, see Arthur C. Murray, *Master and Brother, Murrays of Elibank* (London, 1945), 88. Even though Churchill has never acknowledged any debt to Lloyd George for unemployment insurance, and Murray's account in the biography of his brother contains several details that cannot be true, it would appear that Lloyd George's claim may be substantially correct. Sidney Buxton gave Lloyd George credit for the "first idea" for unemployment insurance in his speech on the second reading of Part II of the National Insurance Bill. (*Official Report, House of Commons Debates*, 5th Ser., XXVI [May 24, 1911], col. 272.)

ministry to begin the attack on unemployment as the best means of reviving party morale, but when in 1909 Lloyd George was diverted by the struggle over the budget and the second chamber veto, Churchill became the sole active representative of social reform in the cabinet.

Early in the fall of 1908, without official cabinet sanction, the Board of Trade began consideration of schemes of unemployment insurance. On October 14, 1908, spurred on by a terrifying rise in unemployment in the autumn, and over the protests of John Burns, the cabinet established a committee on unemployment. Three weeks later, having received secret but authoritative information of the government's interest in social insurance, the Trades Union Congress sent a committee of union leaders, headed by its president, David Shackleton, to Germany to study that country's social insurance program. Shackleton's report, rendered at the end of a year, removed one potentially fatal objection to all forms of national insurance: that government sponsored welfare programs might weaken the hold of trade-unions over their members. Shackleton concluded that "The introduction of state insurance of workmen against sickness invalidity and old age has in no way exercised an injurious effect upon the trade unions of that country [Germany]." ¹⁷

At about the same moment that reformers' hopes were buoyed by trade-union approval of their plans, the House of Lords rejected the licensing bill, with which the Liberals had hoped to fulfill a long-standing promise to the strong nonconformist element in the party to reduce the number of England's public houses. Here was warning of a new difficulty that could upset the reformers' schedule. Second chamber reform might have to take precedence over social reform. "We shall send them such a budget in June as shall terrify them," growled Churchill to Lucy Masterman at dinner in the House of Commons on November 26. Stabbing furiously at his bread, he continued:

"They have started a class war, they had better be careful." I asked him how long he felt the government had to live. "If they thurvive the next budget, two or three years. That'll be the teeth." ¹⁸

¹⁷ D. J. Shackleton *et al.*, "Workmen's Insurance Systems in Germany, December 19, 1908" (Printed Dec. 28, 1908), 4, William J. Braithwaite Papers, London School of Economics. In transmitting Shackleton's report to the Prime Minister, Churchill had remarked that the party was deeply indebted to the trade-union leader. When Churchill became Home Secretary in February 1910, Shackleton resigned from the House of Commons and was appointed "Senior Labour Adviser" to the Home Office. After a time on the National Health Insurance Commission he became Permanent Secretary to the new Ministry of Labour in 1916.

¹⁸ Lucy Masterman, *C. F. G. Masterman* (London, 1939), 114. The government considered a dissolution over the licensing bill. (Asquith to Edward VII, Dec. 9, 1908, Asquith Papers.)

At the end of a year, however, the Unionists were publicly scoffing at the idea that the Lords would ever reject a finance bill, and with the favorable report on social insurance from Shackleton and his colleagues, Churchill began a campaign to push the cabinet immediately into a full-fledged program of reform. "There is a tremendous policy in Social Organization," he wrote to Asquith on December 29.

The need is urgent and the moment ripe. Germany with a harder climate and far less accumulated wealth, has managed to establish tolerable basic conditions for her people. She is organized not only for war, but for peace. We are organized for nothing except party politics. The Minister who will apply to this country the successful experiences of Germany in Social Organization may or may not be supported at the polls, but he will at least have left a memorial which time will not deface of his administration. It is not impossible to underpin the existing voluntary agencies by a comprehensive system—necessarily at a lower level—of state action. We have at least two years. We have the miseries which this winter is inflicting on the poor classes to back us.¹⁹

And oddly enough, the key class of legislation which is required is just the kind the House of Lords will not dare to oppose. The expenditure of less than ten millions a year, not upon relief, but upon machinery, a thrift-stimuli would make England a different country for the poor.

As Churchill saw them, the priorities for action were:

- I. Labour Exchanges, and unemployment insurance:
- II. National infirmity insurance, etc.:
- III. Special expansive State Industries—Afforestation—roads:
- IV. Modernized Poor Law, i.e., classification:
- V. Railway Amalgamation with State Control and guarantee:
- VI. Education compulsory until Seventeen.

These measures, Churchill argued, would not only "benefit the state, but fortify the party." Even if such a program could not be carried out, it would be a good way to go down. "I say—thrust a big slice of Bismarckianism over the whole underside of our industrial system, and await the consequences, whatever they may be, with a good conscience."²⁰

On the one hand, Churchill had to convince a heterogeneous and distrustful Liberal cabinet that the word "reform" could refer to other things than Welsh disestablishment, Irish Home Rule, limitation of "pub" licenses,

¹⁹ In September trade-union unemployment, which was usually lower than the general unemployment rate, had leaped to the terrifying figure of 9.8 per cent, the highest point it had touched since the grim year of 1886. (Winston S. Churchill, "Memorandum on the State of Employment and Trade during the First Nine Months of 1908," Nov. 2, 1908, 1, Public Record Office, Cabinet 37/96 [hereafter cited as PRO, Cab.], No. 143.) In the fall of 1908 a Home Office White Paper reported that forty-six people within the administrative county of London had died of starvation during the previous winter. (*Daily News*, Sept. 3, 1908.)

²⁰ Churchill to Asquith, Dec. 29, 1908, Asquith Papers.

or a reduction of the power of the House of Lords, and that the adjective "German" could describe anything but terrifying militarism. On the other, he had to free himself from the influence of Sidney and Beatrice Webb and their allies in the higher ranks of the civil service, in the Left Wing of the labor movement, and among the Liberal intellectuals in the constituencies.

Social insurance directly contradicted the Fabian conception of "conditional relief." Churchill and Lloyd George never admitted that the function of the nation's welfare institutions was to teach cleanliness or providence or to attempt to improve in any way the character of the poor so that they would not need relief. Moreover, insurance, the chosen instrument of welfare, gave its benefits as a right to all contributors and thus could never be used to improve the character of the insured. Unemployment insurance could not keep a man from losing his job; nor, so far as Churchill was concerned, ought it to try. If it inquired into the reasons for an individual applicant's unemployment, it might do so only on the grounds that the individual workingman's inefficiency was an incalculable, and hence an uninsurable, risk. The fund could only concern itself with unemployment resulting from external, predictable, economic factors. Social insurance might never be concerned with the causes, only with the results of economic accident.

In June 1909, about a month after receiving official cabinet approval for the consideration of insurance against unemployment, Churchill wrote a classic definition of the aims of nonconditional social insurance legislation operating within a capitalist and free enterprise society. This came as part of an attempt to quiet the fears of his Permanent Secretary, Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, who argued that the only way to safeguard the unemployment insurance fund would be to exclude absolutely all claims deriving from the unpredictable failings of human nature.²¹

Although his remarks here were addressed to his chief professional adviser and were concerned specifically with the amount of control the state might seek to exercise over the individual in protecting the unemployment insurance fund, Churchill's remarks apply equally to all social welfare institutions that have followed and demonstrate his complete intellectual independence from the Webbs. Until the productive system could be organized so as to provide work for all who wanted it, the Webbs tried to strengthen the workingman through training, through enjoinder, and finally through

²¹ Llewellyn Smith's arguments for the limitation of the scheme are outlined in Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, "Memorandum on a Scheme for Unemployment Insurance," Apr. 1909, 3, PRO, Cab. 37/99, No. 69. Much of this memorandum appeared sixteen months later in Llewellyn Smith's presidential address to the economics section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. (See Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, "Economic Security and Unemployment Insurance," *Economic Journal*, XX [Dec. 1910], 513-29.)

discipline. They thought always in terms of preventing, rather than treating, poverty, of improving the social habits of the individual so that he could better stand the vagaries of capitalism, at least until the system itself could be abolished. Churchill's interest was, conversely, in the freedom of the individual. Perhaps less sure of the perfection of his own character, he was concerned about the treatment of the man who did, in fact, lose employment through his own negligence. Churchill's preoccupation was rather with the fate of the sinner than with the possibility of redemption. He wrote:

I do not feel convinced that we are entitled to refuse benefits to a qualified man who loses his employment through drunkenness. He has paid his contributions; he has insured himself against unemployment, and I think it arguable that his foresight should be rewarded irrespective of the cause of his dismissal, whether he has lost his situation through his own habits of intemperance or through his employer's habits of intemperance. I do not like mixing up moralities and mathematics.

A disposition to overindulgence in alcohol, a hot temper, a bad manner, a capricious employer, a financially unsound employer, a new process in manufacturing, a contraction in trade, are all alike factors in the risk. Our concern is with the evil, not with the causes. With the fact of unemployment, not with the character of the unemployed.

In my view, the Insurance Office must stand the racket to the full, on the worst possible hypothesis within the conditions it prescribes, and its conditions should be based upon the assumption that the least satisfactory possibilities will result.

These are the reflections which occur to me this morning upon the paper on malingering, and I will only add one other of a general character. We seek to substitute for the pressure of the forces of nature operating by chance on individuals, the pressure of the laws of insurance, operating through averages with modifying and mitigating effects in individual cases. In neither case is correspondence with reality lost. In neither case are pressures removed. In neither case is risk eliminated. In neither case can personal efforts be dispensed with. In neither case can inferiority be protected. Chance and average spring from the same family, both are inexorable, both are blind, neither is concerned with the character of the individuals or with ethics, or with sentiment. And all deviation into these paths will be disastrous. But the truly economic superiority of the new foundation of averages over the old foundation of chance arises from the fact that the processes of waste are so much more swift than those of growth and repair, that the prevention of such catastrophes would be worth purchasing by the diminution in the sense of personal responsibility: and, further, that as there is no proportion between personal failings and the penalties exacted, or even between personal qualities and those penalties, there is no reason to suppose that a mitigation of the extreme severities will tend in any way to a diminution of personal responsibility, but that on the contrary more will be gained by an increase of ability to fight than will be lost through an abatement of the extreme consequences of defeat.²²

²² Churchill to Llewellyn Smith, "Notes on Malingering," June 6, 1909, William H. Beveridge Papers, London School of Economics.

Always coupled in Churchill's mind with compulsory insurance were voluntary labor exchanges. The failure to provide an adequate system of exchanges had wrecked the Saint Gallen unemployment insurance plan. "... a system of public Labour Exchanges stands at the gateway of industrial security," he told the cabinet on November 30, 1908. Besides the necessary support for insurance, it would provide the data needed for further extensions of the plan. It would enable the government to distinguish between seasonal and cyclical fluctuation, between the unemployed and the underemployed, between the worker and the loafer, between permanent contraction and passing depression. Labor exchanges, he concluded, should be "the Intelligence Department of Labour."²³ Exchanges would be to the nation's economic health what the General Register Office was to the prevention of contagious disease: a means of collecting the data for government action.

Perhaps because unemployment insurance was incorporated with health insurance in a single bill when it was finally enacted, the important connections between unemployment insurance and labor exchanges have been insufficiently stressed by histories of British welfare institutions. In fact, Churchill originally intended to make unemployment insurance and labor exchanges a single measure. At least he hoped to make a commitment to insurance in a labor exchange bill, either as a simple declaration of intent or as blank schedules that could be filled in at a subsequent parliamentary session.²⁴ The storm that blew up over Lloyd George's 1909 budget prevented the introduction of the two measures together, although for some weeks after the budget's introduction Churchill still publicly promised an unemployment bill the next year.²⁵ Even a year later, Sidney Buxton, Churchill's successor at the Board of Trade, looked forward to putting down an unemployment bill in 1910 under the ten-minute rule, although by that time the Irish had effectively canceled all progress on social reform by threatening to unseat the ministry unless it took steps that year to curb the power of the House of Lords.²⁶

In summary, the two measures were part of a single legislative package that would begin the new phase of Liberalism. This the party offered as its

²³ Winston S. Churchill, "Unemployment-Insurance: Labour Exchanges," Nov. 30, 1908, PRO, Cab. 37/96, No. 159.

²⁴ Churchill's timetable for labor exchanges is fully explained in a letter to Asquith. (Churchill to Asquith, Dec. 26, 1908, Asquith Papers.)

²⁵ See "The Budget and National Insurance," Speech, May 23, 1909, at Free Trade Hall, Manchester, in Winston S. Churchill, *Liberalism in the Social Problem* (London, 1909), 311.

²⁶ See the covering note by Buxton with "Unemployment Insurance Bill," Mar. 8, 1910, PRO, Cab. 37/102, No. 8; Asquith to Edward VII, Feb. 10, 1910, Asquith Papers.

own means of attacking unemployment, a competing program to the scheme that appeared in February 1909 as the minority report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws.²⁷

Richard Burdon Haldane, who almost alone among the Liberal leaders remained consistently loyal to the Webbs, warned the couple very early that the cabinet was preparing "a comprehensive scheme of reform." The immediate projects—labor exchanges and insurance—were scheduled for 1909 and would provide a platform for a general election the next year. Mrs. Webb pretended to scoff at the government's intentions. "My own idea is that the Liberals will adumbrate the scheme," she wrote on November 15, 1908, "but the Tories will carry it out, which I should prefer in many ways—there would be no nonsense about democracy!"²⁸

Nevertheless, a month later on December 13, 1908, Sidney Webb submitted a confidential memorandum to Churchill urging his own plan for the handling of unemployed workers. This paper illustrates the wide difference between the Webbs' and the Board of Trade's opinions on the proper relationship of exchanges and insurance and in a larger sense symbolizes the basic contradiction between the social philosophies of prevention and of alleviation of distress. Webb argued that labor exchanges, when they came, should be made compulsory; unemployment insurance should be voluntary. If an employer could hire workers only through labor exchanges, he suggested, and the workingman could find jobs nowhere else, the government would have at hand the instrument for organizing the labor market. Moreover, the exchange could easily control the malingering he feared on any scheme of unemployment insurance. With a compulsory exchange there would be no doubt that a man applying for unemployment insurance was genuinely without work. On these grounds, said Webb:

my wife and I had come to the conclusion that compulsory insurance was impractical unless we had a compulsory labour exchange; and that, along with a compulsory labour exchange, compulsory insurance was unnecessary. . . . Hence our proposal is:

1. National labour exchanges compulsory to employers of casual labour as defined.

²⁷ The report was published in February 1909, but the ministry had been aware for many months of the recommendations that would appear in the minority report. Beatrice Webb had been leaking confidential documents of the royal commission to Asquith for well over a year before the report was published. Late in 1907 she gave Asquith, through Richard Burdon Haldane, a preview of the report as it eventually came to be with labor exchanges as its central administrative agency. ("Memorandum by Mrs. Sidney Webb, *Highly Confidential*," n.d. [printer's mark shows Dec. 1907], *ibid.*) Nevertheless both Beveridge and the Webbs state that the government adopted labor exchanges as a result of the royal commission report. (Beveridge, *Power and Influence*, 4; Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Poor Law History: Part II: The Last Hundred Years* [2 vols., London, 1929], II, 663.)

²⁸ Webb, *Partnership*, 418.

2. Trade union insurances and optional, but encouraged by subvention of fifty percent. of the out-of-work payments of the preceding year.
3. Decasualization of labour by "dovetailing" of all short jobs and discontinuous employments.
4. Maintenance of such men as are in distress, and for whom labour exchanges cannot discover places; but under carefully graduated conditions.
5. For such men, who have not insured or saved, there will be—
 - (a) Compulsion to register at labour exchange, and accept job offered.
 - (b) Home alimnt for wife and family (superseding school-feeding).
 - (c) Meals for the man; who must be compulsorily in attendance for *training*; either
 - (i) At Central Labour Depot (for labour at call); or
 - (ii) Training depots—day only; or
 - (iii) Farm colonies of various sorts; or
 - (iv) Detention settlement; or
 - (v) Employment colony for crippled, defective, or infirm employable.²⁹

Compulsory labor exchanges, Webb concluded, plus subsidized voluntary insurance, and disciplinary training for men fallen into distress and who had failed to insure, was a better scheme than compulsory insurance and voluntary labor exchanges. Finally, he argued, it would be more difficult to induce employers and trade-unions to consent to compulsory insurance than to compulsory labor exchanges.

For Webb, then, the labor exchange would be the central institution around which to organize all relief of the able-bodied workmen. Besides being a place to look for work, it would be an educational and a disciplinary institution. For Churchill, the labor exchange was, as it eventually became, only a subsidiary service to unemployment insurance, in fact, an institution that might not become effective until unemployment insurance forced the workers to use it.³⁰

Mrs. Webb regretted the disappearance of the old, easy comradeship with Churchill, Masterman, and Lloyd George. On June 18, 1909, she wrote sadly of the estrangement insurance was causing between the Liberals and her husband and herself.

We are wrong, and likely to become wronger with Lloyd George and Winston Churchill over immediate issues. We do not see our way to support their insurance schemes. We shall not go against them directly, but we shall not withdraw our criticisms in the Minority Report. If their schemes can be carried out we should not much object. Both have good consequences. But we still doubt the practicability, and some of the necessary conditions strike us as very unsatisfac-

²⁹ Sidney Webb, "Unemployment Insurance Criticisms," Dec. 13, 1908, Beveridge Papers.

³⁰ In the cabinet memorandum of November 30 quoted above, Churchill had adduced as an argument for unemployment insurance that the measure was necessary to provide "a motive for the voluntary support of Labour Exchanges." (Churchill, "Unemployment-Insurance," PRO, Cab. 37/96, No. 159, 2-3.)

tory. The *unconditionality* of all payments under insurance schemes constitutes a grave defect. The state gets nothing for its money in the way of conduct, and it may even encourage malingerers.³¹

By this time the struggle over the 1909 budget had begun, and the year 1910 saw very little progress on unemployment insurance. Only after the general election of December did the Board of Trade begin active preparation of an unemployment measure, which the cabinet decided in January 1911 to join in one bill with Lloyd George's health insurance scheme. While the details of the plan that became law on December 16, 1911, are not important to this study, the insurance framework it incorporated has provided the pattern for British welfare institutions and ought briefly to be described in so far as it bears on the argument advanced here.

Generally the plan proposed to collect two and a half pence per week both from employers and employees in the specific list of trades selected for insurance; these were building, the construction of works, shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, iron founding, the construction of vehicles, and sawmilling. To the five pence thus collected in behalf of each workman the government added approximately one and two-thirds pence. The total sum was deposited in an insurance fund, which would pay an eligible, unemployed workman seven shillings per week for fifteen weeks after a one-week waiting period. In the beginning, by design, the act applied only to trades in which the cyclical fluctuation of employment was relatively predictable, but which were also trades demanding a high degree of skill that gave a certain stability of personnel. Benefits were to be paid normally through labor exchanges, in certain cases through trade-unions. The workman who refused an offer of employment in his own trade at the prevailing wage was dropped from benefit. Except that it was aimed principally at keeping the respectable workman from falling into destitution, insurance had nothing to do with the poor law. More important, so long as a man was available for work found for him by the labor exchange, the act took no notice if he squandered his benefits in drink and gambling. Section 87 (2) of the measure stipulated, to be sure, that an applicant for compensation should not have lost his engagement through "misconduct," but the penalty in such cases was only the denial of benefit for six weeks, and should the workman dispute the nature of his misconduct the case would be referred to an umpire pending whose decision the workman was entitled to claim benefit.³² So far

³¹ Webb, *Partnership*, 430.

³² In cases where the decision of the umpire was against the workman, the Board of Trade was empowered to proceed for the recovery of sums paid. The act, however, did not require it do so. (See A. S. Comyns Carr *et al.*, *National Insurance* [London, 1912], 418-19, and Section

as the act concerned itself at all with the workingman's behavior, it did so not for the benefit of the workingman but to protect the fund itself. The mild restriction embodied in Section 87 hardly interfered with the right of a freeborn Englishman to be dirty if he wished. The act did not, as Churchill had specified, "mix up moralities and mathematics."

Thus, out of Llewellyn Smith's actuarial caution and Churchill's legislative daring, unemployment insurance was formed. Although Part II of the National Insurance Act was completely overshadowed by health insurance during its passage, it was perhaps the greatest legislative triumph in the program of the New Liberalism. In attempting to solve the problem of destitution by relieving the unemployed rather than by preventing unemployment, the Liberal scheme showed a characteristically British and Churchillian disregard for social theorizing. It was the most prosaic solution possible to a problem generally conceded to be insoluble. Even the disasters of the twenties and thirties, which caused the unemployment program practically to disappear for a time as a plan of insurance, left Churchill's work largely intact when good times returned. With labor exchanges, it is the only major social welfare institution to survive from the New Liberalism without basic modification.

By the time unemployment insurance became law, Churchill was First Lord of the Admiralty, demanding oil-fired battleships with the same energy and enthusiasm for innovation he had shown for social reform three years earlier. In his short period at the Board of Trade and at the Home Office, between April 1908 and August 1911, Churchill put the stamp of his generous view of mankind and its failings upon the nascent British welfare state. While he drew upon the Webbs for ideas and particularly for technical help, the traditions that came out of this period were peculiarly his own and peculiarly British. He refused to let the state use its power over those in distress for any purpose except to relieve distress. The state could never be permitted to distinguish the worthy and the unworthy among its citizens; it might never penalize an applicant for aid, no matter how dirty, ignorant, or improvident, by requiring him to reform. The most it could do was to provide permanent agencies to which a mature workman might apply for aid and direction, not only in emergency, but indeed to prevent emergency.

101 [5] of the act.) In practice, benefit seems rarely to have been denied on this account. Workmen who habitually misbehaved quickly exhausted their benefits, as Churchill intended they should. For a detailed, and unofficial, description of unemployment claims procedure in its early days, see John Hilton, "Statistics of Unemployment Derived from the Working of the Unemployment Insurance Act," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, LXXXVI (Mar. 1923), 154-93.

The departure made to prevent distress during unemployment drew England back from the contemplation of the network of social and economic controls advocated by Sidney and Beatrice Webb and provided instead a cushion, or a net, of welfare institutions onto which those who had failed economically might fall. Instead of state socialism, unemployment insurance and labor exchanges provided state social service.

The History of American Science— A Field Finds Itself

A. HUNTER DUPREE*

AMERICAN civilization and modern science occupy the same span of history. Many pay lip service to the overwhelming role of science in the mid-twentieth century, and the rise of the United States to world eminence both politically and culturally is equally a self-evident proposition in contemporary history. Yet few people expect to find a connection between the two phenomena, and fewer still have any sense of the possibility that science is a thread woven into the very fabric of American civilization from the beginning. Indeed, a respectable current of opinion still assumes that nothing of importance in the history of science ever happened in the United States (this despite the events of the last quarter century), and hence the whole subject of the history of American science may be dismissed as trivial. In addition, those with a burning belief that the scientific community is a true state that knows not boundaries or alternative allegiances are quick to condemn the subject as immoral because traitorous to internationalism. Those who see the history of science as an autonomous succession of ideas taking place in a social and intellectual void cannot understand the qualification of "American" as having any relevance to their inquiries.

Yet in two important respects the phrase "American science" without any equivocations such as "science in America" has a prima-facie validity. In the first place, the term or its equivalent has in fact been used from very early times, and the history of American science has in fact been the object of important reflections. In the second place, since science has meant much to American civilization, the indebtedness would not change if a watertight proof were made that American civilization had been woefully inept or even a complete failure in its contributions to science. The history of American science has a place among interdisciplinary studies of American civilization even if the extreme Europophiles are allowed full scope for the most irresponsible manifestations of their snobbishness.

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The temptation is great to be satisfied with a secure but humble position for the history of both American science and American technology as an esoteric specialty, a subdivision of a subdiscipline. "What an unusual field you have, professor!" If a scholar is, as John A. Kouwenhoven fears we all are, excessively preoccupied with verbal evidence,¹ he can conveniently attach the history of American science to American intellectual history. If he interprets American democratic culture as being, in Alexis de Tocqueville's words, "more addicted to practical than to theoretical science,"² he can readily make science the handmaid to technology and attach the whole as a subdivision to economic history. Such concepts of the history of American science do much to explain the paucity of formal courses in the subject even at the largest universities.

A completely different way of looking at the subject has, however, long haunted those who have contemplated the development of American civilization and who have wondered what made it unique.

History, as generally written, is but an account of the wars and contentions by which dynasties have striven for the mastery of nations. It imparts little or no information in respect to the social conditions or material progress of the people themselves. . . . Inasmuch, however, as the nature, the institutions, and the administration of the American nation are different from all others, so must its history be in an entirely different style. . . . If we have no ALEXANDER, or CAESAR, or BONAPARTE, or WELLINGTON, to shine on the stormy pages of our history, we have such names as FRANKLIN, WHITNEY, MORSE, and a host of others, to shed a more beneficent lustre on the story of our rise. The means by which a few poor colonists have come to excel all nations in the arts of peace, and to astonish the people of Europe with their achievement through the development of their inventive genius, are true subjects for a history of the United States.

Not only is this passage venerable, appearing in the preface of a work entitled *Eighty Years Progress of the United States* and published in 1866; it also served Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., as the introduction to an article, "An American Historian Looks at Science and Technology," published in the shadow of the atomic mushroom in 1946.³ As an editor of the *History of American Life*, Schlesinger had, by emphasizing the broad range of experience that the whole life of a people embraced, provided a framework for the study of American science as he had for American religion, American law, American popular literature, and many other neglected facets of American civilization. The history of American science and technology as

¹ John A. Kouwenhoven, *American Studies: Words or Things?* (Wilmington, Del., 1963).

² Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Phillips Bradley (2 vols., New York, 1954), II, 42.

³ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., "An American Historian Looks at Science and Technology," *Isis*, XXXVI (Oct. 1946), 162-63.

a central theme in American studies is thus no new idea, but one with a long tradition, even if its occasional celebration has been the signal for long periods of almost total neglect.

Schlesinger felt that the neglect of science and technology as a central theme came about because the historians who flourished after 1866 continued to write about American Caesars and Wellingtons, leaving science and technology to specialists in various branches and to popularizers.

Those who wrote with expert understanding generally talked above the heads of lay readers, while the popularizers, seeking romance and drama in every new conquest of Nature, generally overplayed the facts or garbled the underlying principles. Both sets of writers, moreover, have tended to look at their theme with blinders, failing to correlate scientific achievement with the broader movements of history—as though the investigator or inventor lived and labored in a social vacuum.⁴

This analysis of why little history of American science was written in the eighty years before 1946 inevitably raises the question of who has written on the theme in the eighteen following years, when the role of science in modern society has been extolled continuously by almost everyone. Schlesinger had taken the position that the experts in the various branches of science could not do the job. On the other hand, the reigning generalization among historians of science, a professional group that has grown more prominent if not more secure in the nearly two decades since World War II, has been the opposite. George Sarton laid down the classic and uncompromising rule in Draconian terms. The one indispensable requirement for Sarton was that a historian of science

should be deeply familiar with at least one branch of today's science and he should have a more superficial acquaintance with various other branches. By deep familiarity is meant work at the front, experimental work in the laboratory or observational work in the observatory or in the field. . . . His scientific experience would guarantee his adequate treatment of scientific subjects and would give him the needed authority to talk about them in the presence of young scientists. Nothing can be worse in the teaching of the history of science than learned discussion of which the instructor has no inward knowledge; the more learned, the worse it is.⁵

The acceptance of Sarton's rule is not limited to historians of science, many of whom have had firsthand experience in the pitfalls of trying to convince people that one possesses "inward" knowledge, or to scientists, some of whom are aware of the limitations of perspective imposed on them by their position within their own discipline. Many humanists and social

⁴ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁵ George Sarton, "Is It Possible to Teach the History of Science?" *A Guide to the History of Science* (Waltham, Mass., 1952), 60.

scientists accept the Sarton rule precisely because lack of firsthand experience makes them willing to accept the essential impenetrability of science by outsiders. They have not themselves entered the mansion of science, from which they infer a glory and consistency of interior decoration observable only by the owners of the house. For instance, Kouwenhoven, in his pamphlet *American Studies: Words or Things?* hints that he would, if pressed, side with Sarton on the ground that the laboratory is the place where one can find the "things" of the history of American science. "Word-thinking has become the basis of our educational system—except in those areas (notably the exact sciences) where vagueness and generalization are intolerable. In those areas apprenticeship, laboratory or studio work, or some other system of acquiring first-hand familiarity with specific particulars, has necessarily been retained."⁶ A strict enforcement of the Sarton rule would ensure that only men in touch with the hard facts of nature would become the historians of American science, and hence the subject would be free of those raised in the verbal traditions of history.

Nothing is more evident in examining the scholarship of the last eighteen years in the history of American science than the fewness of numbers and modesty of accomplishment of the investigators as they try to swim in the surging tides of their subject. It has changed almost beyond recognition, altering as it goes many familiar landmarks in American history. Why should only a corporal's guard be tackling the background and setting of the historical events which by common consent stand at the center of twentieth-century history? By all usual measures one would expect that the history of American science would be among the most challenging and intellectually attractive studies in our graduate schools today, that it would have a prominent place in American history teaching from the first grade up. Yet no one can maintain that it is more than an esoteric specialty. The application of the Sarton rule must have something to do with this disparity. Historians do not go into the history of American science because they are not scientists. Scientists and humanists alike wait for those with direct experience at the frontier of research to emerge and take up the burden. Yet they do not come, perhaps because having achieved research careers in the sciences they are better supported to continue there than voluntarily to read themselves out of their shining mansion to cohabit with the penurious humanities.

When one looks at the corporal's guard who do make contributions to the history of American science, one finds, in contrast to the situation in

⁶ Kouwenhoven, *American Studies*, 17.

the history of science generally, that most of the investigators entered the field despite Sarton's rule and not because of it. Schlesinger's article of 1946 was not sufficiently noted at the time even to draw a refutation from the editor of the journal in which it was published—Sarton himself. Yet when an American history graduate student presented himself to Schlesinger and said he wanted to work on the history of American science, the answer was not, "How much science do you know?" but rather, "Good." To make a roll of Schlesinger's students, and of the students of Schlesinger's students, who have made contributions to the history of American science is to draw up an incomplete but quite representative bibliography of the subject over the last two decades.⁷ Imagine the state of studies in this field if one had shot all the members of the corporal's guard who were let into the history of American science by Schlesinger's disregard of Sarton's standard.

Large numbers of scientists and their humanist allies—men like Kounenhoven, who admire the laboratory route to things and deprecate the historians' dependence on words—may object that standards have been lowered by Schlesinger's unbarring of the door. Or they may point to those among his students who by chance had some technical or scientific background. Or they may deny the existence of a split by telling an individual who has proved himself by historical scholarship in the field: "You are different. We shall confer upon you the title of 'honorary scientist.'"

Schlesinger himself, quite aware of the barrier between science and history, wished to surmount it by changes on both sides.

⁷ Students of Schlesinger: G. W. Adams, *Doctors in Blue* (New York, 1952); Ralph S. Bates, *Scientific Societies in the United States* (New York, 1945); John B. Blake, *Public Health in the Town of Boston, 1630-1822* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); Carl Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York, 1942) (science chapters) and *The Colonial Craftsmen* (New York, 1950); Merle Curti, *Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943) (science chapters); A. Hunter Dupree, *Asa Gray, 1810-1888* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), *Science in the Federal Government* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), and *Science and the Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1916* (Chicago, 1963); Leonard K. Eaton, *New England Hospitals, 1790-1833* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1957); Donald Fleming, *John William Draper and the Religion of Science* (Philadelphia, 1950) and *William H. Welch and the Rise of Modern Medicine* (Boston, 1954); John C. Greene, *The Death of Adam* (Ames, Iowa, 1959) and *Darwin and the Modern World View* (Baton Rouge, 1961); Bert James Loewenberg, "Controversy over Evolution in New England," 1859-1873, *New England Quarterly*, VIII (June 1935), 232, "Reaction of American Scientists to Darwinism," *American Historical Review*, XXXVIII (July 1933), 687-701, and "Darwinism Comes to America, 1859-1900," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVIII (Dec. 1941), 339-68. Students of students (sometimes reflecting strength of influence rather than formal direction of dissertation): Kendall Birr (Curti), *Pioneering in Industrial Research: The Story of the General Electric Research Laboratory* (Washington, D. C., 1957); James Cassidy (Fleming), *Charles V. Chapin and the Public Health Movement* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); Brooke Hindle (Bridenbaugh), *Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1956) and *David Rittenhouse* (Princeton, N. J., 1964); Edward Lurie (Loewenberg), *Louis Agassiz: A Life in Science* (Chicago, 1960); *The Politics of American Science, 1939 to the Present*, ed. J. L. Penick, Jr., et al. (Dupree) (Chicago, 1965); William R. Stanton (Fleming), *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815-59* (Chicago, 1960); Donald C. Swain (Dupree), *Federal Conservation Policy, 1921-1933* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963).

On the one hand, professors of history must surrender jealously guarded interests in order to make room for a new type of subject matter. On the other hand, their colleagues from the laboratory must co-operate by packaging *their* wares for a new type of customer. Since the historical student is not planning to become a specialist in any scientific field, his needs call for a different kind of instruction.⁸

Not direct laboratory experience or guild membership but a special education in science tailored for historians is needed not only to make a despised nonscientist palatable to the scientist, but also because the "historian, even when insufficiently informed as to the data of science and technology, can often perceive social implications and interrelations which specialists in those branches are unaware of or disregard."⁹

Schlesinger's call for a special education in science for historians in place of Sarton's insistence on a professional scientist's training as a necessary precondition has made little formal headway. The basic reason for the lack of such a special education is that it is a subspecies of a much larger problem: the education in science of all sorts of laymen.¹⁰ Most scientists agree that all citizens of the age of science should appreciate science, even though public education specifically directed to this aim is little supported and little regarded. Sarton's instinct was certainly correct in looking for the best available education in science in the professional training programs.

At the same time lay education of those who have to make decisions about scientific policy and consider scientific factors in making all sorts of other decisions has loomed up as a major problem in American society. Special education in science for historians is precisely the same as special education in science for Presidents, cabinet members, congressmen, business executives, and stockbrokers. Historians of science who were trained in history are in a parallel position to science administrators. The scientific community in theory insists that its affairs are really safe only when a scientist is in control; hence its members celebrate the appointment of Glenn T. Seaborg as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission because it honors their sense of the integrity of the scientific community.

For a long time, however, the scientific community has found it convenient at least occasionally to ignore the theory because of the desperate need for administrators who can by their divergent backgrounds see things that scientists cannot—a form of the insight that Schlesinger recognized in the social historian. A good example of such an administrator is Irvin

⁸ Schlesinger, "An American Historian Looks at Science and Technology," 163.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ A. H. Dupree, "Public Education for Science and Technology," *Science*, CXXXIV (Sept. 1961), 716-18.

Stewart, who as executive secretary managed the Office of Scientific Research and Development during World War II even though his competence was that of a political scientist. James R. Killian is often described as "trusted by the scientists" to indicate his nonscientific upbringing. Possibly the ideal of a special education in science for historians will become a reality only when American society develops more adequate techniques in several kinds of public education in science.

Much of the misunderstanding concerning the role of scientific knowledge in the pursuit of the history of American science would disappear with a clarification of what things the historian should be studying. He is not interested in the subject matter of the sciences per se. John Dewey long ago made the distinction neatly when he said, in describing the use of selection by the historian,

He elects to write the history of a dynasty, of an enduring struggle, of the formation and growth of a science, an art or a religion, or the technology of production. . . . There is no event which ever happened that was *merely* dynastic, merely scientific, or merely technological. As soon as the event takes its place as an incident in a particular history, an act of judgment has loosened it from the total complex of which it was a part, and has given it a place in a new context, the context and the place both being determinations made in inquiry, not native properties of original existence.¹¹

Put another way, and strongly enough to evoke dismay, the history of science properly does not concern itself with the things of science: the plants, the animals, the molecules, the atoms, the ether, the quanta, or even the law or the equation. The only object of study in the history of science is *Homo sapiens*, and since a scientist without communication is hard to conceive of, it is *Homo sapiens* in a social context that is the sole object of the historian's study of science. Hence all history of science—internal and external, technical and popular—is social history. The scientists study the things; the historians study the scientists.

Objection to this generalization will be immediately forthcoming from many who fall into the European tradition of the history of science, especially those conditioned by the stimulus given to the study in the 1930's in Great Britain by J. D. Bernal, J. G. Crowther, Lancelot Hogben, and others who applied Marxist concepts. Those who reacted unfavorably to the Marxist school, originally led by men such as John R. Baker and Michael Polanyi, tend to see in any study of the social setting of science an entering wedge to a Marxist determinism which views science not as an autonomous body of

¹¹ John Dewey, "Historical Judgments," quoted in *The Philosophy of History in Our Time*, ed. Hans Meyerhoff (Garden City, N.Y., 1959), 168-69.

thought with a logic of its own but as a mere reflection and rationalization of economic forces. The American tradition of the social history of science owes little, however, to the British Marxists. Crowther's lone attempt in the 1930's to say something about American science was far from successful.¹² Dirk Struik's influential *Yankee Science in the Making* is thoroughly in the American tradition, a book that can be, and often is, read without reference to the Marxist debate at all. The debate between one of the most distinguished of American historians of medicine, Richard H. Shryock (who, incidentally, began his career as a student of the Reconstruction period), and Herbert Dingle neatly illustrates how the American insistence on social factors can be interpreted as an attack on a proper conception of the history of science.¹³

Other objections come all too readily to mind because they have been so often advanced and so carefully polished for just such occasions. People who speak about science never compare favorably with those who perform scientifically. How can one say anything about an atomic bomb if he does not know calculus? Mathematics is, after all, the true language of the physicist. And finally the things of science exist (either really or operationally, according to one's school); thus how can the historian write about that which he knows not of? Perhaps we must wait, after all, for the scientist, with the future in his bones and more grants than he can administer, to get around to elaborating the history of American science.

The many humanists who are anxious to please their betters offer no resistance to this counsel of despair and cooperate eagerly against those of their own numbers who question the *mystique* of the Sarton rule. Yet before retreating in confusion, let us ask a few questions about the consequences of turning the history of American science over to the scientists in terms of whether the capitulation would shift the emphases from an unhealthy verbalism to a direct confrontation with reality.

Many people who thoughtlessly conceive of science in comfortable nineteenth-century clichés see experiment as all-important, see the facts speaking for themselves, and see the structure of ideas in which they reside as either self-evident by induction or nonexistent. Robert A. Millikan could say that, "Historically, the thesis can be maintained that more fundamental advances have been made as a by-product of instrumental (i.e., engineering) improvement than in the direct and conscious search for new laws. Witness: . . .

¹² J. G. Crowther, *Famous American Men of Science* (New York, 1937).

¹³ "Conference on the History, Philosophy, and Sociology of Science," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCIX (Oct. 15, 1955), 327-54; Herbert Dingle, "History of Science and the Sociology of Science," *Scientific Monthly*, LXXXII (Mar. 1956), 107-11.

relativity and the [A.A.] Michelson-[E.W.] Morley experiment, the Michelson interferometer came first, not the reverse."¹⁴ The thoughtful observer will see as a main drift in twentieth-century thought a movement away from the simple positivism of Millikan's generalization. Students of the philosophy of science now point to the many barriers that science itself places between the observer and his experimental data. What the observer sees is not raw nature, but a selection of sense perceptions determined by the structure of his ideas, the paradigm. Laws are but the social consensus reached by the practitioners of the subdisciplines. The data presented in the textbook are selected to celebrate the consensus already reached in the arena of research. The much-vaunted experiences gained by the beginning student in the laboratory are prearranged exercises with the answers already known. If the student's senses tell him something different from the manual, he knows he has made a mistake, not a discovery.¹⁵

One of the products of the sociological system within which the scientist exists is a mountain built of words, otherwise known as science information. Reality among the sciences is written in thousands of journals, hundreds of thousands of citations, and a whole apparatus of increasingly automated catalogues and digests for control and retrieval. Far from finding himself in touch with reality, the investigator must penetrate a swarm of symbols more abstract than words—in Fortran as well as English and Russian—before he can even begin the interpretation of experiments. If the historian, impressed that he must be a scientist, makes the fatal assumption that he must conquer the science information system before beginning to write history, he is lost in a tangle of words the like of which the history profession, with its own technology still preindustrial, has no notion. The quest for reality and hard material things among the hard sciences seemed reasonable in the nineteenth century; it is madness in the twentieth.

If we return, chastened, to the proposition that the history of American science is the proper concern of the historian and that the historian deals with the affairs of men and women, we can start our quest anew. A good historian never has illusions that words take the place of actions and events. He must in many, perhaps most, cases depend upon verbal descriptions, but he can evaluate the word by the closeness to the thing it describes. In a scale of closeness to the event in the history of American science, the paper in the learned journal is farther away than informal sources such as manuscript letters and notes. A botanist, if he had the patience and humility

¹⁴ Robert A. Millikan, *Autobiography* (New York, 1950), 219.

¹⁵ See Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962).

to forget most of what he knows and transmigrate to the nineteenth century, might be able to make more out of the plant descriptions in Asa Gray's *Plantae Wrightianae* than a historian. But there is more to be learned about Charles Wright's journey from central Texas to El Paso in 1849 in the letters that passed between him and Gray than in all the published scientific results of the journey.¹⁶ Only a physicist can follow in detail the series of papers by Enrico Fermi, Lise Meitner, Otto Hahn, Nils Bohr, and the rest, which led to the discovery of nuclear fission. Yet only good historians would know what to do with the plentiful informal records that document the making of the atomic bomb, the decision that led to its use, and the diplomatic quest for its international control.¹⁷ The historian, possessed of the ancient tools of his craft, knows better than the scientist how to search for the informal records and what to do with them when he finds them.¹⁸

Historians, in going after the sources concerning the men and societies they study, have long recognized, at least in theory, the importance of the nonverbal source. In the history of American science it is important to recognize that the totality of things making up the experimental data of science is not identical with the nonverbal source, which must illuminate in some way the social process of science as carried on by men and women. Francis Parkman had his theory of the importance of all the senses in his imaginative re-creation of the struggle between France and England in North America. Samuel Eliot Morison in our own day has literally put to sea in order to feel and understand the position of Columbus and the naval personnel of World War II.

Richard Hewlett and Oscar E. Anderson, Jr., in their work *The New World*, which in its way opens a new era in historiography as truly as did the discovery of fission in physics, are explicit both in their use of physical survivals and in their awareness of the tradition of which they are a part.

More than a century ago, Francis Parkman demonstrated how important it was for the historian to visit the scene of his narrative. We have tried to follow his example and to know not only the geographical setting of the wartime project but also the buildings and equipment which have survived. We located the Washington offices of many project leaders. We visited the campus laboratories at Columbia, Chicago, and Berkeley. In Oak Ridge, we lived for three weeks in the Guest House in sight of the Manhattan District "castle" and Jackson Square. We toured the production sites and clambered through K-25, Y-12, and X-10, studying the converters, the calutrons, the pile, and the separation pilot plant.

¹⁶ See Dupree, *Asa Gray*, 204-206.

¹⁷ See Richard G. Hewlett and Oscar E. Anderson, Jr., *The New World, 1939-1946* (University Park, Pa., 1962).

¹⁸ See A. Hunter Dupree, "What Manuscripts the Historian Wants Saved," *Isis*, LIII (Mar. 1962), 63-66.

At Hanford, we savored the desert air, explored the foundations of the dismantled construction camp, and checked our understanding, based on reports and drawings, of the great B pile itself, still in operation as a tribute to the skill of the engineers and craftsmen who built it. We even rode in the huge bridge crane above the concrete canyons where the plutonium for Trinity and Nagasaki was separated. Finally, we went to Los Alamos. Few technical buildings of the early nineteen-forties still stand, but the mountains, mesas, and canyons endure to help the visitor understand the lives of the men who built the bomb.

We hope that the days spent inspecting the physical survivals add to the value of this book. We know that we write with greater confidence for having extended our research beyond the written and spoken word.¹⁹

Fundamental to the historian's use of sense data from physical survivals is his recognition that in most cases he cannot experience the thing itself, in the fullness of its being, in a time long past. Rather he must re-create imaginatively by analogical experience the thoughts and feelings of other men in other times. Morison was not Columbus and could not re-create all facets of the great navigator's experience. Parkman could pace the walls of Fort George, but he had to live with nineteenth-century Sioux on the Great Plains to try to understand the seventeenth-century Hurons and Iroquois. Vicarious experience, not actual participation, makes history possible and renders man different from animals.

Even Morison, the officer on active duty, did not learn all that a historian needs to know because he rode a ship in the operations about which he was to write; only a small part of the Okinawa operation took place within eyesight of the flag bridge of the U.S.S. *Tennessee*. To write of the very naval operations that he observed directly required vicarious experience quite as much as to write about Columbus.

Hewlett and Anderson truly saw their role when they tried to "understand the lives of the men who built the bomb." The restrictions of compartmentation rendered them better able to see the whole complex development than were any of the individual participants. Had some of the men who built the bomb become trained and sensitive historians after the war they might have done the job that Hewlett and Anderson did, and they might have been able to take some short cuts because of their technical competence. The fact remains, however, that the Atomic Energy Commission did not find its historians among the physicists at all, but among those who possessed the skill to be historians. If they had to study hard on technical matters at an age when many men have ceased to educate themselves, they at least did not have to unlearn the myths that a scientist would have

¹⁹ Hewlett and Anderson, *New World*, 664.

uncritically incorporated into his mental equipment before he saw the light of historical conversion.

The historian, then, if he pursues his quest with sufficient vigor and with the tools that his craft has developed for him, will use all the evidence he can find in his imaginative re-creation of the history of American science. He will, because he is a historian, assume the thankless task of trying to preserve the informal records that the scientist with all the virtue and certitude of his calling is often bent on destroying systematically. He will rejoice that the National Academy of Sciences has opened its archives to scholars for the period before 1914. He will attempt to reduce the chaos of manuscript cataloguing by supporting the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections and similar efforts. He will assist those universities fortunate enough to have equipment from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to refurbish and display it as Princeton has its Rittenhouse orrery. He will urge the feeble archives of the universities to consider the papers of scientists, laboratories, and departments as an important part of the historical record. He will urge manuscript repositories to follow the lead of the American Philosophical Society in giving adequate attention to science.

All of these worthy endeavors, however, do no more than make the history of American science a possibility even as a limited specialty. The present corporal's guard working in the field cannot do much more than the house-keeping chores for the future. The care of artifacts as a part of the historical record of American science is probably, thanks to the Smithsonian Institution and a few other museums, no worse done than the care of manuscripts. If the history of American science is to become, as the editor of *Eighty Years Progress* suggested in 1866 and Schlesinger echoed in 1946, a central theme of American history, the corporal's guard of professional historians working on the subject are not enough. Schlesinger saw the atomic bomb as stimulating a reappraisal of the place of science in history. In eighteen years such a task has only begun, while the penetration of science into the affairs of men and women at all levels of society has gone on at an ever-accelerating pace. Science has become a central theme of American history in the mid-twentieth century, whether the historian wishes to incorporate it or not. To relegate science to the scientist alone is not within the historian's power.

Great Britain and the African Peace Settlement of 1919

WM. ROGER LOUIS*

A. J. Balfour: . . . The French and the Italians. They are
not in the least out for self-determination.
They are out for getting whatever they can.
Lord Robert Cecil: They are Imperialists.
A. J. Balfour: Exactly.

December 1918¹

. . . I am inclined to value the argument of self-determination because I believe that most of the people would determine in our favour. . . if we cannot get out of our difficulties in any other way we ought to play self-determination for all it is worth wherever we are involved in difficulties with the French, the Arabs, or anybody else, and leave the case to be settled by that final argument knowing in the bottom of our hearts that we are more likely to benefit from it than anybody else.—

Lord Curzon, December 1918²

ON the eve of the Paris Peace Conference the British government decided in principle to accept the proposal for a "mandates system." The reason for this decision was complex. In former wars Britain like other powers when victorious had pursued the straightforward procedure of acquiring territories believed to have strategic or commercial importance. These con-

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¹ Eastern Committee Minutes, Secret, Dec. 18, 1918, Milner Papers, New College, Oxford. On the Eastern Committee, see Richard H. Ullman, *Intervention and the War* (Princeton, N.J., 1961), 307, n. 16. The Milner Papers most recently have been used by A. M. Gollin in an incisive study of Lord Milner: *Proconsul in Politics: A Study of Lord Milner in Opposition and in Power* (London, 1964). The main source upon which this article is based is a collection of unbound documents in a dispatch box marked "Mandates Peace Conference" in the Milner Papers not used by Gollin (or to my knowledge by any other historian) that reveal for the first time the full details of the British role in the African peace settlement of 1919. Subsequent references to the Milner Papers are to this set of unbound documents unless otherwise indicated. I am grateful to the Cabinet Office for allowing me to publish excerpts from them. All quotations from unpublished official British documents are derived from the Milner and other collections of private papers.

² Eastern Committee Minutes, Secret, Dec. 5, 1918, Milner Papers.

siderations weighed no less heavily in the deliberations of the British statesmen at the end of the First World War than at the close of the Napoleonic Wars. But in 1919 the urge for simple territorial aggrandizement was checked by the popular belief that "imperialism" was a cause of war and that the rivalry of the Great Powers in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia jeopardized the peace of the world.

President Wilson championed this point of view. He believed that a just peace was one without annexations. He doubted, nevertheless, whether Germany's colonies should be restored. Perhaps he believed that the Germans had forfeited their moral right as colonial rulers; perhaps he thought that the elimination of Germany from colonial affairs would contribute toward a stable world; or perhaps he merely recognized that the Allied Powers would never permit the return of the German colonies. In any case Wilson urged that the former Turkish territories and German colonies should be administered as a "sacred trust of civilization" under the League of Nations.³ By accepting mandates the British seemed to bring their aims into alignment with the nonannexationist policy of the United States.

Wilson himself did not define precisely what mandatory obligations would involve. As interpreted by the members of the British Imperial War Cabinet, mandates did not mean international administration but merely a sort of international control. According to the Minutes of the Imperial War Cabinet:

... As to the precise distinction between the occupation of territory in a "possessory" and in a "mandatory" capacity. . . . it was generally agreed that "mandatory occupation" did not involve anything in the nature of condominium or international administration, but administration by a single Power on certain lines laid down by the League of Nations. These lines would naturally include equality of treatment to all nations in respect of tariffs, concessions, and economic policy generally.⁴

³ On Wilson's views toward colonialism I have profited from reading Arthur Walworth's draft chapter on the mandates in "The United States at the Paris Peace Conference" (forthcoming). I have also benefited from another unpublished essay, Gaddis Smith's "British War Aims and the German Colonies in Africa, 1914-1919," in "British and German Colonialism in Africa," ed. Prosser Gifford and W. R. Louis (forthcoming). See also George Curry, "Woodrow Wilson, Jan Smuts, and the Versailles Settlement," *American Historical Review*, LXVI (July 1961), 968-86. On Wilson's advisory staff, see Lawrence E. Gelfand, *The Inquiry: American Preparations for Peace, 1917-1919* (New Haven, Conn., 1963); and W. R. Louis, "The United States and the African Peace Settlement of 1919: The Pilgrimage of George Louis Beer," *Journal of African History*, IV (No. 3, 1963), 413-33; on the development of "The Idea of Colonial Trusteeship" during the First World War, see Henry R. Winkler, *The League of Nations Movement in Great Britain, 1914-1919* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1952); on whether this trusteeship should be exercised through international control or international administration, see W. R. Louis, "De la controverse au sujet du Congo au système mandataire: Sir John Harris et son idée de tutelle," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* (forthcoming).

⁴ Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 20, 1918. Copies of these minutes may be found in several collections of private papers, but they are most easily accessible in those of Sir

By attaching this meaning to mandates the British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, believed that the British could get their share of the spoils, but not commit themselves to obligations any more stringent than those Britain had already incurred in tropical Africa under the Berlin and Brussels Acts of 1885 and 1890.⁵ By accepting mandates along the lines of these acts, he hoped to pay little for an object of great value: American friendship in colonial affairs. He calculated that it would be wise to invite the Americans themselves to accept mandatory responsibilities: "If America were to go away from the [Peace] Conference with her share of guardianship, it would have a great effect on the world. . . . by making the offer to America we would remove any prejudice against us on the ground of 'land-grabbing.'" ⁶

The other powerful advocates of an Anglo-American colonial understanding were Sir Robert Borden of Canada, General Jan Smuts of South Africa, and Lord Milner (War Secretary during the last part of the war, Colonial Secretary during the Peace Conference). Borden, like Wilson, did not believe that the war had been fought "in order to add territory to the British Empire." He was prepared to support the annexationist claims of the southern Dominions (South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand), but he thought that if the result of the war were merely a scramble for territory by the Allies "it would be merely a prelude to further wars." Borden, like Lloyd George, urged that the conquered enemy's colonial territories (apart from South-West Africa and the former German colonies in the Pacific) should be entrusted to mandatory powers under the League of Nations. He hoped that the United States would accept "world wide responsibilities in respect of undeveloped territories and backward races."⁷

By contrast Smuts conceived of American participation in a mandates

Robert Borden and Sir George Foster, National Archives of Canada. In final form commercial equality was secured only in the "A" and "B" mandates of the Middle East and tropical Africa and not in the "C" mandates of South-West Africa and the Pacific Islands. The other prominent anomaly was the French "nigger army" clause (Lloyd George's phrase), by which France reserved the right in the Cameroons and Togoland to raise troops "in the event of a general war." (On these points, see Paul Birdsall, *Versailles: Twenty Years After* [New York, 1941], Chap. III; and H. Duncan Hall, *Mandates, Dependencies and Trusteeship* [Washington, D.C., 1948], 66-69 *et passim*.)

⁵ In this connection, see W. R. Louis, "African Origins of the Mandates Idea," *International Organization*, XIX (Winter 1965), 20-36, which attempts to trace the origins of the mandates in relation to the Berlin and Algeiras Acts.

⁶ Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 20, 1918; David Lloyd George, *The Truth about the Peace Treaties* (2 vols., London, 1938), I, 118. That Lloyd George published this and other similar quotations in his memoirs bears evidence that he tried to fulfill his boast of publishing his account of the Peace Conference without "suppression or distortion of any relevant fact or document." So far as colonial problems are concerned, he seems to have suppressed little. But, owing to the limited number of sources he appears to have had at his disposal when he wrote his memoirs, his account is now of interest less because of the evidence presented than because of the insight it gives into his personality.

⁷ Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Nov. 26, Dec. 20, 1918.

system in which responsibilities would be limited to the fallen empires of Eastern Europe:

... The thing would work out like this. The League of Nations, for the larger purpose, would step into the shoes of the old Turkish and Russian Empires. These peoples, so far as they are of any vitality, would become little autonomous States. . . . some particular Power belonging to the League of Nations should be indicated as the tutelary Power, the guardian Power, in respect of one or the other of these States.

The result would be, supposing America were to undertake this job, America would keep a large general control over Georgia. . . . in such a way that the general supervision which America exercises over Georgia would be in the general interest not only of Georgia, but of the world as a whole. . . . My point is to try and get America on to our side.⁸

By late 1918 Smuts was also willing to include parts of German Africa in this scheme. Along with Borden and Milner he was especially anxious for America to have a share (to use one of Milner's favorite phrases) in the "white man's burden." All three attached supreme importance to an Anglo-American "colonial alliance." According to Milner: "the future peace of the world depended on a good understanding between us [Britain and the United States], and [he] regarded this policy of a mandate by the League of Nations, not as a mere cloak for annexation, but as a bond of union . . . between the United States and ourselves."⁹

Smuts and Milner, however, were reluctant to establish the US as the mandatory power in German East Africa. In Smuts's opinion:

The British Empire was the great African Power right along the eastern half of the continent, and securing East Africa would give us through communication along the whole length of the continent—a matter of the greatest importance from the point of view of both land and of air communications. . . . It was not only on the grounds of our conquests and sacrifices, but on the obvious geographical situation, that we were entitled to make a strong claim to being the mandatory in that region. Personally he [Smuts] would give up very much in order to attain that. . . . He would prefer to see the United States in Palestine rather than East Africa.¹⁰

Lloyd George objected to this proposal. Though he originally had supported

⁸ Eastern Committee Minutes, Secret, Dec. 2, 1918, Milner Papers; see also Lt. Gen. the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts, *The League of Nations: A Practical Suggestion* (New York, 1919), and Sir Keith Hancock, *Smuts: The Sanguine Years, 1870-1919* (Cambridge, Eng., 1962), Chap. xx.

⁹ Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 20, 1918; Lloyd George, *Truth about the Peace Treaties*, I, 122.

¹⁰ "Mr. Balfour suggested that the line of argument pursued by General Smuts was perhaps playing a little fast-and-loose with the notion of mandatory occupation." Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 20, 1918; quoted in Lloyd George, *Truth about the Peace Treaties*, I, 119-20.

the idea of shoving the United States into Palestine, by December 1918 he had changed his mind:

It would involve placing an absolutely new and crude Power in the middle of all our complicated interests in Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. Everyone with any complaint to make against British administration would rush off to the United States, who would not be able to resist the temptation to meddle. Every Bedouin would be going to the Americans, and we should be put into the humiliating position of continually giving in to the Americans on every complaint raised by them, up to a point when we could stand it no longer, and then might find ourselves involved in a serious quarrel.¹¹

Lord Milner thought that Armenia might be a possible American mandate. "The mere fact that we did not want it ourselves was no reason for not assigning the responsibility of it to the United States."¹² Winston Churchill considered, however, that it would be dangerous to entrust even Armenia to the Americans: "... If America were introduced in the heart of European politics, in Armenia, or anywhere else in the Mediterranean region, this would be an incentive to her to make herself the greatest Naval Power."¹³ If the British had to give up any territory to the Americans, Churchill was "strongly in favour of giving up German East Africa."¹⁴

The Imperial War Cabinet thus did not agree on where the US should become a "mandatory power." In any case the point remained theoretical because the United States never offered to accept mandates.¹⁵ There was complete accord in the Imperial War Cabinet, however, on two other important points: that President Wilson's principle of self-determination had little or no relevance for territories outside Europe and the Middle East; and that South-West Africa and the former German colonies in the Pacific should not be placed under the mandates system, but annexed by the British Dominions that had conquered them. A. J. Balfour, the Foreign Secretary, stated in December 1918 in regard to the first point:

¹¹ Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 20, 1918.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ "Admiral Wemyss supported this argument, and said the Admiralty would regard a large American fleet in the Mediterranean with greater apprehension than anywhere else. An American occupation of Palestine, or Armenia, would inevitably lead to her building up a fleet in the Mediterranean, with bases and lines of communication." *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*; Lloyd George, *Truth about the Peace Treaties*, I, 121.

¹⁵ Wilson's colonial adviser, George Louis Beer, urged that the US should assume mandatory responsibility in the Cameroons. This scheme failed, not only because of Wilson's reluctance to see the US become involved in colonial affairs, but also because the French had no intention of giving up the Cameroons. See the typescript copy of Beer's diary at the Library of Congress. This manuscript is invaluable in tracing the attempts made to cement the "Anglo-American colonial alliance" and in understanding the American role in the African peace settlement. The Edward M. House Papers and the Sir William Wiseman Papers, Yale University, are also useful in this regard. Unfortunately the Woodrow Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, are difficult to use for so specialized a topic as this because of the cumbersome classification system.

We must not allow ourselves to be driven by that broad principle [of self-determination] into applying it pedantically where it is really inapplicable, namely, to wholly barbarous, undeveloped, and unorganised black tribes, whether they be in the Pacific or Africa. Self-determination there, I do not say it has not even a real meaning, but evidently you cannot transfer formulas more or less applicable to the populations of Europe to different races.¹⁶

Later in the same month Prime Minister William Hughes of Australia stated emphatically that any attempt to apply "self-determination" to South-West Africa or the Pacific Islands would be "futile." He thought that any sort of mandatory interference in the former German colonies in these regions would jeopardize the security of the British Empire.

As regards the German colonies in the Pacific, he [Hughes] thought that the President was talking of a problem which he did not really understand. New Guinea was only 80 miles from Australia.¹⁷

. . . To the northward lie the teeming millions of Asia. . . . Australia is deeply convinced of the strategic importance to her of the islands which lie like ramparts to the north and east. . . . Australia must have unfettered control. . . .¹⁸

As is well known, Hughes's unyielding attitude on this point brought him into head-on collision with Wilson and in January 1919 nearly disrupted the Peace Conference.¹⁹ With great reluctance Hughes and his colleagues

¹⁶ Eastern Committee Minutes, Secret, Dec. 5, 1918, Milner Papers. The most prominent British humanitarian who denounced German "colonial atrocities" during the war, John H. Harris, Organizing Secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, was more confident. "Upon the outbreak of War," Harris wrote in March 1917, "the German administration, which is always militarist, hanged without trial very large numbers of native chiefs, not upon any definite charge, but merely upon the suspicion that they were friendly to the Allies. . . ."

"If this were so upon suspicion, one trembles to think what would happen on the restoration of the Colonies to Germany. No International safeguards the mind of man could conceive would save other Chiefs. From the information in our possession, and it increases every month, the native chiefs in the occupied territories have assisted the 'conquerors' in a wholehearted manner, supplying money, carriers, foodstuffs and even soldiers, and have thus quite unwittingly laid themselves open to trial for treason, and you can be quite sure that such trial and sentence would be vigorously carried out."

In those circumstances Harris knew that the native chiefs would opt for British rule—a triumph of the logic of self-determination. (Harris to J. G. Alexander, Mar. 2, 1917, Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society Papers, D 3/16, Rhodes House, Oxford. These papers are especially valuable in tracing the development of the mandates idea during the course of the war.)

¹⁷ Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 30, 1918.

¹⁸ Hughes memo, Secret, Feb. 6, 1919, Milner Papers.

¹⁹ Among the more important works that have dealt with the mandates negotiations at the Peace Conference are: Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement* (3 vols., New York, 1922); Robert Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations: A Personal Narrative* (Boston, 1921); David Hunter Miller, "The Origin of the Mandates System," *Foreign Affairs*, VI (Jan. 1928), 277–89; *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, ed. Charles Seymour (4 vols., New York, 1926–28); Quincy Wright, *Mandates under the League of Nations* (Chicago, 1930); Seth P. Tillman, *An lo-American Relations at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919* (Princeton, N.J., 1961); and the works cited in footnotes above. The best general work on the subject is Hall, *Mandates, Dependencies and Trusteeship*. For a discussion of these and other works concerning the mandates system, see my chapter in *British Empire-Commonwealth Historiography: Reassessments and Prospects*, ed. Robin W. Winks (Durham, N.C., 1966).

from New Zealand and South Africa finally yielded to Wilson's fervent insistence that all conquered colonial territories be placed under the mandates system. As Hughes had feared, he found himself, in his opinion, being "dragged quite unnecessarily behind the wheels of President Wilson's chariot."²⁰ On January 30 the Peace Conference decided to place the German colonies as well as the former Turkish territories under the mandates system.

Yet Wilson's triumph was not all he might have wished. He forced the conference to accept a universal application of the mandates system, but he did not succeed in establishing "self-determination" as the basis of this system.²¹ And in return for the acceptance of the mandates system by the representatives of the southern Dominions, he acquiesced in Smuts's proposal that there should be various types of mandates. The "simple and straightforward" "C" mandates of South-West Africa and the Pacific Islands, according to Milner, would differ in little other than name from normal colonial possessions. The "B" mandates of tropical Africa and the "A" mandates of the Middle East bound the mandatory powers to more stringent obligations,²²

²⁰ Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 30, 1918.

²¹ If indeed this was Wilson's intention. The slippery phrase of self-determination was interpreted in a great variety of ways. On the one hand it could mean eventual independence of the peoples concerned; on the other hand it could merely take into consideration the interests and welfare of the indigenous inhabitants. In the mandates charter (Article 22 of the League Covenant), "self-determination" was implicit in the clauses relating to the peoples of the Middle East but not in those concerning Africa and the Pacific Islands. Wilson apparently resigned himself to the absorption of those latter regions by the mandatory powers—provided this was the wish of the indigenous inhabitants. As he illustrated this point before the Council of Ten: "It was up to the Union of South Africa to make it [natural union between the two territories] so attractive that South-West Africa would come into the Union of their own free will. . . . if successful administration by a mandatory should lead to union with the mandatory, he would be the last to object." (On this point, see Hall, *Mandates, Dependencies and Trusteeship*, 123-24.)

²² There has been so much written on the mandates negotiations at the Peace Conference that it seems unnecessary to give a detailed exposition of them here. The basic published source is *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: The Paris Peace Conference, 1919* (13 vols., Washington, D. C., 1942-47); for a lucid account, see Tillman, *Anglo-American Relations*. The Milner Papers nevertheless provide such interesting supplementary information that perhaps it is justified to give a brief summary of Milner's views about "mandates." In a powerfully written memorandum of March 8, 1919, he stated: "in the C mandate the obligations incurred by the mandatory Power, the limitations to its sovereignty, are very few and simple." Apart from obligations to combat the slave trade and the arms traffic, and to refrain from erecting fortifications, "this class of mandate contains no restrictions upon the legislative and administrative authority of the mandatory Power."

"... The country handed over to it becomes an integral part of the territory of that Power. It follows, that the commercial and fiscal system prevailing in the existing territory of the mandatory Power may be applied to the mandated territory without reservation or restriction."

The "B" mandates of tropical Africa (designed for German East Africa, Togoland, and the Cameroons) were more complicated than the "C" mandates. In Milner's opinion there were two important differences between the two classes:

"(1) Under mandates of the 'C' Class the laws of the mandatory Power are *ipso facto* applicable to the mandated territory, whereas in mandates of the 'B' Class the mandatory Power is only made 'responsible for the administration' of the mandated territory. This no doubt implies that the mandatory Power may make laws for the territory. . . . But this

but these were accepted by the French as well as the British with the conviction that there was "no real difference between a colony and . . . [a] mandated area." "You will see," said one of the French delegates to Wilson's colonial adviser, "what these mandates will develop into in ten years."²³

The purpose of the above remarks has been not only to illuminate British attitudes toward the founding of the mandates system, but also to explain why Britain simply did not annex the German colonies and to provide the background of the territorial settlement. During the war as during the Peace Conference, in the Pacific as in Africa, British territorial ambitions remained fairly constant. The basic aim was to absorb German territories in the vicinity of the southern Dominions. In 1915 the Colonial Secretary, Lewis Harcourt, in a memorandum aptly entitled "The Spoils," had written: "It is out of the question to part with any of the territories now in the occupation of Australia and New Zealand. . . . German South-West Africa . . . must ob-

will have to be special legislation, and must in practice differ materially from the laws in force in the country exercising the mandates.

"(2) In Class 'B' mandates the mandatory Power is under very much more extensive obligations than in mandates of Class 'C', especially with regard to fiscal and commercial matters. . . . It thus appears that under mandates of the 'B' Class, the position of a mandated territory very much resembles, if it is not absolutely identical with, that of certain existing British Protectorates such as Nigeria and East Africa, in which equality of trade conditions has already been established under existing treaties."

If the "B" mandates were more complex than those of the "C" group, there was also, in Milner's words, a "broad distinction in character" between these two classes on the one hand and the "A" class on the other. The "B" and "C" mandates of tropical Africa and the Pacific for all practical purposes could be regarded as colonial possessions. They were trammled only by certain international obligations such as those to combat the slave trade, to submit reports to the League of Nations, and, in the case of the "B" mandates, to ensure equality of commercial opportunity. Once the principles of the mandates system had been accepted by the Peace Conference in regard to the "B" and "C" territories, the delegates had little difficulty in drafting the terms of the mandatory obligations. This was entirely untrue of the "A" mandates of the Middle East, which were, in Milner's words, "by far the most difficult and complicated."

" . . . It is really impossible to frame a single form of mandate which would be applicable, or even approximately applicable, to all the Territories in question. They differ so radically from one another in essential particulars that no one system of Government can be devised which will suit them all. . . . When we have settled the number of states into which the Turkish Empire is to be divided, the question of the boundaries between these states will arise, and here there is . . . room for the greatest difference of opinion. . . . Ethnic affinity will no doubt be regarded as a basic principle, but this alone affords very insufficient guidance, for in almost every case, notably in that of Armenia, different, and indeed hostile races are intermixed. On the other hand we have in fixing the boundaries of Syria and Mesopotamia, to deal with the exactly opposite problem, viz., how to escape or at least to minimise the administrative difficulties of dividing authority over one and the same race between two different mandatory Powers." (Milner memo, "Mandates," Secret, Mar. 8, 1919, Milner Papers.)

The solution to the problem of the drafting of the "A" mandates eluded the ingenuity even of Milner, and the Middle Eastern settlement was not concluded until long after the Peace Conference had adjourned.

²³ Beer diary, July 7-13, 1919.

viously be retained as part of the British Empire. . . ."²⁴ These words were echoed in the report of the Imperial War Cabinet's Committee on Territorial Desiderata of April 1917:

The restoration to Germany of South-West Africa is incompatible with the security and peaceful development of the Union of South Africa, and should in no circumstances be contemplated. . . .

The retention of the German islands and colonies in the Pacific south of the Equator, in order to eliminate all possible future German naval bases in this region, is required for the security of the British Australasian Dominions.²⁵

The British government at the beginning of the war had agreed to permit Japanese occupation of the German islands north of the equator. With similar bitterness as in the 1880's (when in an analogous way the Colonial Office had restrained the Queensland government from annexing eastern New Guinea), the Australians and New Zealanders watched the Japanese take over islands in the Pacific that they regarded as a threat to their security if occupied by a hostile power.²⁶ At the Peace Conference the remaining islands south of the equator were apportioned in the way that had been obvious since practically the beginning of the war: Samoa to New Zealand, the rest to Australia. Nor was there any doubt about South-West Africa: in 1919 not even Wilson challenged South Africa's claim.²⁷

In the other African settlements Britain was the only power with interests at stake in both the east and the west of the continent. The French claimed part of Togoland and most of the Cameroons, the Belgians part of German East Africa. The Portuguese and the Italians, though they had conquered no territory in Africa, nevertheless demanded a share of the spoils. The Italians justified their claims on the basis of the Treaty of London of 1915 (which promised the Italians "equitable compensation" in colonial areas).

²⁴ Harcourt memo, Secret, Mar. 25, 1915, Herbert H. Asquith Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford. The Asquith Papers are essential for understanding colonial problems at the beginning of the war.

²⁵ Committee on Territorial Desiderata, Report, Secret, Apr. 28, 1917, Austen Chamberlain Papers, Birmingham University. This is one of the very few, if not the only, collection of private papers containing the minutes of this committee.

²⁶ There is no satisfactory account of Anglo-Japanese relations during the First World War, but on the problem of the Pacific, see especially Russell H. Fifield, *Woodrow Wilson and the Far East* (Hamden, Conn., 1965 ed.), and Roy Watson Curry, *Woodrow Wilson and Far Eastern Policy, 1913-1921* (New York, 1957); also W. R. Louis, "Australia and the German Colonies in the Pacific, 1914-1919," *Journal of Modern History* (forthcoming), which is based on various unpublished papers in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

²⁷ Nor did Wilson interfere in the issues concerning Egypt and Morocco. The settlement of these questions followed the basic pattern of the *Entente* agreement of 1904: Britain received recognition of the protectorate declared over Egypt in 1914; France strengthened its hold over Morocco, and in addition regained in full sovereignty the two slices of the Cameroons ceded to Germany by the 1911 Moroccan agreement. (These points are discussed in my article, "United States and the African Peace Settlement.") The Peace Conference not only founded the mandates system, but also consolidated and extended the European empires in Africa.

The Portuguese had no treaty engagement, but could see no reason why their empire should not grow along with those of the other powers at Germany's expense. The French and the Belgians held a far stronger position: their troops actually occupied African territory. By contrast, however, with the Belgians (who had tried in vain to make a bargain with the British before the beginning of the Peace Conference), the French even possessed agreements by which Britain recognized French rights to administer "provisionally" parts of Togoland and the Cameroons.²⁸

The origins of the Anglo-French West African agreements are still obscure. Perhaps these arrangements resulted merely from the necessity to establish provisional spheres of administration, but probably (at least in regard to the one concerning the Cameroons) they were connected with the problem of the Middle East. In West Africa the French tentatively received, in Milner's phrase, "the lion's share"—half of Togoland, nine-tenths of the Cameroons—even though a large part of the Cameroons including the port of Douala had been overrun by British troops. Following the traditional pattern the British gave way in the west of the African continent to secure their lines of communication in the east. In 1917 Smuts thought that

... If there were a choice between keeping German East Africa or the German West African colonies, he [Smuts] considered it much more important to make sure of the safety of the eastern route from South Africa, more particularly as the retention of German East Africa included the provision of a land communication with Egypt, and also secured the Red Sea route to India.²⁹

About the importance of West Africa itself, opinion was divided between the officials in England and those in the British West African territories. According to the Colonial Secretary in 1918, Walter Long, Douala was "the best port on the West Coast of Africa, and possessed great importance as a potential base for coal and supplies, and a wireless station." In the opinion, however, of the governor-general of Nigeria, Sir Frederick Lugard: "... The portions of the Cameroons we had from time to time been anxious to get were of little value, and he [Lugard] would be inclined to give the whole of the Cameroons and Togoland to France."³⁰ In 1919 this conflict of views was resolved along the lines of the recommendation of the Imperial War Cabinet's Committee on Territorial Desiderata:

²⁸ See the copies of the *Anglo-French agreements* of Sept. 13, 1914, and Feb. 28, 1916, for Togoland and the Cameroons, respectively, in the Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, National Archives, 185.115/24. On the Cameroons agreement, see Margery Perham, *Lugard* (2 vols., London, 1956-60), II, 544-45.

²⁹ Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet Committee on Territorial Desiderata, Secret, Apr. 18, 1917, Chamberlain Papers.

³⁰ Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 20, 1918; for Lugard's earlier views, see Perham, *Lugard*, II, 544-45.

The Committee concluded that the Cameroons should not be restored to Germany under any circumstances except those of imperative necessity, and that in our dealings with France the utmost importance should be laid on the greatness of the concession made to France, and its provisional character insisted on to secure, at the least, the [boundary] modifications specified by the Colonial Office.³¹

The issues at stake were not great. As a representative of the Admiralty had pointed out in 1917, "in French hands Duala might be a very great inconvenience to us, though he could hardly call it a very serious menace."³² By December 1918 the British had resigned themselves to handing over most of the German West African territories to the French. Smuts pointed out that "it was really only a question of boundaries."³³

The settlement of these West African "boundary" questions took place in Paris during the spring of 1919.³⁴ Like the other African territorial problems, they were mainly dealt with, in Milner's phrase, "out of court"—not as part of the formal conference. On March 7 Milner met with Henry Simon, the French Colonial Minister, to discuss the Cameroons and Togoland. "M. Simon stated that his Government would be found very accommodating in the Cameroons, but could not adopt the same policy in Togoland."³⁵ In the Cameroons the French willingness to accommodate the British amounted to making boundary adjustments, which were necessary, according to Milner, because (writing in reference to Togoland and German East Africa as well as the Cameroons),

the boundaries between the different spheres of occupation are haphazard and, as a permanent arrangement, would be quite intolerable.

They cut across tribal and administrative divisions, take no account of economic conditions, and are in every way objectionable. . . .³⁶

Apart from several minor adjustments designed to make this partition less artificial, the final settlement between Britain and France in the Cameroons was substantially the same as the provisional one of 1916.³⁷

³¹ Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet Committee on Territorial Desiderata, Secret, Apr. 18, 1917, Chamberlain Papers.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 20, 1918.

³⁴ Though the decision to establish the mandates system was taken in late January, the mandates were not allocated until May. Wilson attempted to postpone this question as long as possible, partly because he wanted to avoid the impression of dividing the spoils at the Peace Conference, partly in order to retain bargaining power. Unable to withstand the increasingly sharp demands of the French and British delegates, he finally yielded. On May 7 he agreed that the German colonies should be "entrusted" to Britain and France—an arrangement that ignored the claims of Italy, Belgium, and Portugal and that brought the colonial question again to the fore. The British and French delegates had already begun the technical process of partition. (See esp. Milner memo, "Cameroons and Togoland," Mar. 7, 1919, Milner Papers.)

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Milner memo, "Mandates," Secret, Mar. 8, 1919, *ibid.*

³⁷ See Milner memo, "Cameroons and Togoland," May 29, 1919, *ibid.*, which was written shortly after he had reached agreement with Simon on these questions. The final details, however, were not settled until late June.

The Togoland negotiations were more acrimonious:

As to Togoland, M. Simon said that, to be quite frank, France wanted the whole of it.³⁸

The French justified this claim on grounds that Dahomey had only a small seaboard "and urgently required more." Simon believed that Togoland was "an entirely artificial creation," a situation best rectified in his opinion by French annexation. Milner did not respond favorably to this suggestion:

Lord Milner observed that he had the impression that in return for extreme accommodation on our part in the Cameroons, the French were shewing great exigence in Togoland. . . .³⁹

Milner and Simon finally agreed that the best solution would be simply to partition Togoland between Britain and France, but to improve, as in the Cameroons, the "very hastily fixed" provisional boundary of 1914. France received the larger part (60 per cent of the territory, containing approximately four times the population of the British sector), which included the only good port in the colony, Lomé, and the railways running to it. Summarizing these negotiations, Milner wrote:

While . . . the settlement is generous to France, and while we can well afford to take credit for it in any other negotiations with the French about territorial adjustments—in Syria for instance—the position from the British colonial point of view is not a bad one. We shall not, indeed, have added much to our possessions in West Africa, either in the Cameroons or in Togo. But the additional territory we have gained, though not large in extent, has a certain value in giving us better boundaries and bringing completely within our borders native Tribes which have hitherto been partly within British territory and partly outside it.⁴⁰

Neither the Cameroons nor Togoland lay contiguous to a British Dominion, a geographical fact that largely explains the relatively indifferent British attitude. Yet German East Africa, which also fell into this geographical category, was crucial to British security. In Smuts's opinion German East Africa was less important than German South-West Africa, but nevertheless "very materially concern[ed] the safety of the British Empire as a whole."

He [Smuts] drew attention to the evidence which had been produced with regard to German designs of creating a great Central African Empire, which, in conjunction with German control over Turkey, might eventually be used to threaten the British position in Egypt. He also attached great importance to the securing of continuity of territory by land between British South Africa and British North Africa. . . .⁴¹

³⁸ Milner memo, "Cameroons and Togoland," Mar. 7, 1919, *ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Milner memo, "Cameroons and Togoland," May 29, 1919, *ibid.*

⁴¹ Minutes of the First Meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet Committee on Territorial Desiderata, Secret, Apr. 17, 1917, Chamberlain Papers.

German East Africa was the "missing link" in the chain of British possessions from the Cape to Cairo; this consideration preoccupied British statesmen throughout the war, as is indicated by the sustained interest shown by Harcourt:

14, Berkeley Square,
W.1.
February 13th, 1919

My dear Milner,

I think I ought to warn you, as I did your two predecessors [Bonar Law and Walter Long], that in the Peace settlement of German East Africa the province of Ruanda at the North-western corner of G.E.A. should on no account go to the Belgians or in any way pass out of British control. It is the only possible route for the Cape to Cairo railway, if that project is ever realised. . . .

Yours very sincerely,
(sgd) Harcourt⁴²

In conjunction with the British offensive against German East Africa of 1916, Belgian troops had moved into the northwestern part of German East Africa, occupying territory that extended to Lake Victoria in the east and Tabora in the south, and that included the western part of the central railway to Lake Tanganyika. Following occupation the Belgian government demanded British recognition of the Belgian right to dispose of this territory for advantages elsewhere. The British refused on these grounds:

- (1) because the successful invasion of the north-west part of German East Africa by the Belgians was only made possible by British assistance and as the result of British efforts;
- (2) because the Belgian view was contrary to the agreement by which all conquered territory was to be held for disposal in the peace negotiations;
- (3) because there are reasons specially affecting the future of British rule in East Africa which made it imperative to avoid any recognition such as the Belgians sought of their position in the territory occupied by them. (Among these reasons are:—(i) the difficulty of administering German East Africa without the north-west provinces, which form an integral part of the German Protectorate, (ii) the necessity of maintaining our land communications between the south and the north (Uganda and the Sudan) on the one hand, and between the east and the west (the Indian Ocean to Lake Tanganyika) on the other, (iii) the importance of our sharing equally with the Belgian Congo the control over Lake Tanganyika and the communications on the Lake.⁴³

Whatever the validity of these reasons, Belgian occupation rankled the British mainly because the Belgians had secured "the richest and most populous

⁴² Milner Papers.

⁴³ Colonial Office memo, African No. 1066, Confidential, "Belgian Occupied Territory in German East Africa," Oct. 27, 1918, *ibid.*

districts of German East Africa" and had blocked the Cape to Cairo route.⁴⁴ In Milner's opinion, this was "intolerable."⁴⁵

He so informed the colonial adviser to the Belgian Foreign Ministry, Pierre Orts, on May 12, 1919.⁴⁶ He argued that the extension of Belgian dominion into German East Africa was objectionable because it would violate the "natural frontier" between East and Central Africa, and he stated "most emphatically" that the British would not tolerate the Belgians "sitting" on their "lines of communication from East to West and from North to South." Orts, after considerable skirmishing, "admitted the force" of Milner's argument. He said that his government was prepared to hand over the territory necessary for British "communications," but that Belgium must retain most of the districts of Ruanda and Urundi. This concession satisfied Milner so far as strategic considerations were concerned, but he was far from happy about Belgian retention of Ruanda and Urundi:

. . . The districts of Ruanda and Urundi, though small in extent, are in some respects the best part of all German East Africa. They are healthy highlands, very fertile, and well cultivated as East African cultivation goes. They have a very large population, something like 3 millions, which is about 40% of the total native population of German East Africa. They are also particularly rich in cattle. . . .⁴⁷

Still, Milner was willing to concede these districts to Belgium:

. . . I should be prepared, especially in the case of a small power like Belgium, to err if I must err on the side of generosity; and I feel that with the enormous extent of mandated territory which the Peace settlement is likely in any case to leave in our hands, we can well afford to do without Ruanda and Urundi.⁴⁸

Milner knew, however, that the Belgians were merely using Ruanda and Urundi as a pawn. What they really wanted was not part of East Africa but a strip of territory at the mouth of the Congo on the west coast.

They are extremely embarrassed by the very narrow sea front of their enormous Congo territory, and by the fact that they only possess one,—the Northern—bank of the Congo.

If they could get a strip of land on the south of that river, extending as far as Ambrizette, I believe that they would be willing to give up almost the whole

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Milner memo, "Negotiations with Belgium about German East Africa," n.d. [May 1919], *ibid.*

⁴⁶ These negotiations are discussed in detail in W. R. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi, 1884-1919* (Oxford, Eng., 1963), Chap. xxi.

⁴⁷ Milner memo, "Negotiations with Belgium about German East Africa," n.d. [May 1919], Milner Papers.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

of Ruanda and Urundi, and this would be from every point of view the best solution.⁴⁹

This proposed solution to the "East African tangle" (as Milner referred to it in his diary)⁵⁰ involved persuading the Portuguese to part with the southern bank of the Congo. They would do this only in return for a substantial *quid pro quo* elsewhere. Milner therefore proposed to give the Portuguese some territory in the south of German East Africa: thus Belgium would receive the southern bank of the Congo River; Portugal would expand into southern German East Africa; and Britain would acquire Ruanda and Urundi. This bargain failed to materialize, however, because the Portuguese refused to be bought off, in their opinion, with worthless territory. After "troublesome and time wasting" negotiations, in Milner's words, Belgium was left with Ruanda-Urundi,⁵¹ as was agreed upon by Orts and Milner on May 30, 1919. Despite the protest of the American representative, George Louis Beer, and of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, the Milner-Orts agreement proved final.⁵²

Thus, far from being willing to give up the southern Congo bank for part of German East Africa, the Portuguese demanded the southern portion of the latter territory as a mandate. Milner thought this was preposterous:

The Portuguese have in my opinion no claim whatever to receive a mandate for any portion of German East Africa on the score of what they have done in the conquest of it. . . . they even failed to defend their own boundaries against Von Lettow[-Vorbeck, the German commander in East Africa], when our operations rendered his position in East Africa untenable, and by that failure prolonged the war in East Africa about a year.⁵³

At a meeting of the Mandates Commission on July 12, 1919, the Portuguese were told that they could have no part of German East Africa as a mandate, but to silence them, they were given full sovereignty over a scrap of territory

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Entry for May 14, 1919, *ibid.*

⁵¹ Except for a strip of territory in eastern Ruanda that was handed over to Belgium in 1923.

⁵² At the meeting of the Mandates Commission on July 16, Beer pointed out "its [the Milner-Orts agreement's] absurdity from the geographical, ethnographical and political stand-points." He later wrote: "This agreement cannot be defended except on grounds of merest expediency. It is contrary to the fundamental principles upon which these colonies were to be disposed of in that no attention at all was paid to native interests." (Beer diary, July 13-Aug. 4, 1919.) The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society protested that "past experience of Belgian proceedings in the Congo does not encourage an extension of the rule of that nation over large portions of Africa," and Harris complained that talk of the "sacred trust" in this regard was "manifest hypocrisy." (On Beer's and Harris' attempts to influence the territorial settlement, see Louis, "United States and the African Peace Settlement," and "De la controverse au sujet du Congo au système mandataire.")

⁵³ Milner memo, May 29, 1919, Milner Papers.

called the "Kionga Triangle" in northern Mozambique, which rounded off the Portuguese territory at the natural frontier of the Ruvuma River.⁵⁴ This was done, in Milner's words, "as a matter of grace and convenience."

The Portuguese were extremely suspicious of the machinations of the other imperial powers. It is now clear from the British records that these suspicions were justified. At the Peace Conference the Portuguese learned that the Italians were pressing the British to support their efforts to establish a "trading company" in Angola. According to a British memorandum written in March 1919:

The Italian Delegate was unable to explain satisfactorily why the good offices of H.M.G. should be required in order to enable them to carry on trade with a Portuguese Colony. On being pressed however it appeared that . . . the real aim was political. The Italian Delegate has now explained that Italy wishes H.M.G. to conclude with Italy an agreement similar to the secret agreement with Germany of 1898, whereby in the event of a disruption of the Portuguese colonial possessions part would fall to H.M.G. and part (including Angola) to Germany.⁵⁵

The British refused on grounds that "Imperialism" was dead. ". . . Such an arrangement in the present altered state of the world," wrote a Colonial Office official, "would be quite unthinkable."⁵⁶

Though the British rebuffed Italian overtures regarding the Portuguese colonies, they were bound by the Treaty of London to consider the more general problem of "equitable compensation" for Italy in Africa. On May 7, 1919, the Supreme Council appointed an Inter-Allied Committee composed of Milner, Simon, and an Italian delegate, Silvio Crespi, to discuss Italian territorial claims, which extended over a large part of Northeastern Africa. Most of the regions claimed by Italy were, as Milner described them, "mainly desert," but even so the British and the French were reluctant to hand them over to the Italians. The remarkable feature that struck Milner about Italian ambitions was the extent to which they involved British territory:

from the first it was Great Britain that was asked to make the principal sacrifices. In Libya the area claimed from Great Britain was three or four times as large as that claimed from France. . . . In asking for the whole of British and French Somaliland, Italy was asking us to give up a country ten times as large as France

⁵⁴ See H. B. Thomas, "The Kionga Triangle," *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, XXXI (July 1951), 47-50.

⁵⁵ Italy similarly demanded a "free hand" to trade in Abyssinia. "In this matter as in others the Italian Government are using trade as a cloak for political aims." (R. Sperling memo, Mar. 11, 1919, Lothian [Philip Kerr] Papers, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh. These papers contain valuable information about the creation of the mandates system as well as the settlements in Africa and the Middle East.)

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* On Italian colonial aims in the First World War, see Robert L. Hess, "Italy and Africa: Colonial Ambitions in the First World War," *Journal of African History*, IV (No. 1, 1963), 105-26.

was asked to give up. Finally in Jubaland the territory asked for by Italy was exclusively British.⁵⁷

Milner was willing only to make a rectification of the Libyan frontier in Italy's favor and to cede the region in the north of British East Africa called the Juba Valley, which he described as "a fertile district capable of growing large quantities of cotton. . . ." In Somaliland Milner "declined to budge" on grounds that Britain had already given away more than France. He did not see "why we should continue to make all the sacrifices." In fact he wanted to yield as little as possible:

I may say I was rather glad that the French took up an uncompromising attitude about Jibuti (French Somaliland), as if they had been more yielding about it, I might have found it difficult to refuse Berbera [in British Somaliland] and the part of British Somaliland adjoining it.

"Ultimately I presume," Milner wrote, "Italy will have to be satisfied with what France and Great Britain are prepared to give up."⁵⁸ The main points of the final settlement included only the cession of the Juba Valley by Britain and a few oases in the Sahara by France.⁵⁹

This niggardly attitude of Britain and France was largely determined by the putative strategic importance of Northeastern Africa and the unsettled state of affairs in Abyssinia. According to Milner: "As long as the fate of Abyssinia, which is one of the most serious international problems of the near future, remains undecided, neither France, Italy nor England can be expected to give up any positions now held by them, from which they can exercise an influence on the future of that country."⁶⁰

At the bottom of the Abyssinian problem was the question of the Nile:

We . . . have one absolutely vital interest; it is to safeguard the head waters of the Blue Nile. . . . When the time comes to liquidate the Abyssinian situation, we must be in a position to stipulate for the security of this water supply.⁶¹

. . . It is vitally important to Egypt to retain undisputed control of the Nile.⁶²

As in the days of Lord Salisbury, British statesmen at the Peace Conference believed that the power in possession of the Nile Valley controlled Egypt and the route to India. By the end of the First World War the ramifications

⁵⁷ Milner memo, " 'Equitable Compensation' for Italy in Africa," May 30, 1919, Milner Papers.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*; see also Milner's memo in Lloyd George, *Truth about the Peace Treaties*, II, 898-901.

⁵⁹ See Hess, "Italy and Africa."

⁶⁰ Milner memo, " 'Equitable Compensation' for Italy in Africa," May 30, 1919, Milner Papers.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Sperling memo, Mar. 11, 1919, Lothian Papers.

of Salisbury's Nile policy had led Britain into a large part of the Middle East and German East Africa as the "mandatory power." Even in the disposal of the former German West African colonies, protection of the "other" route to India was a primary consideration. As Balfour said in December 1918: "Every time I come to a discussion—at intervals of, say, five years—I find there is a new sphere which we have got to guard, which is supposed to protect the gateways of India. Those gateways are getting farther and farther from India."⁶³

Apart from the representatives of the southern Dominions, British statesmen in 1919 did not regard the establishment of the mandates system as a threat to the security of India or of the Empire as a whole. Nor did the apportionment of the mandates affect the repartition of Africa. The continent was divided mainly along the lines of conquest. To the regret of the British delegates at the Peace Conference, there was little room for maneuver. According to Cecil: "I know that if Mr. Balfour or myself makes any proposition with regard to Africa, we shall be told that it is the oldest colony, or it will bitterly offend some New Zealand politician if we don't, or something of that kind. It is always the same."⁶⁴

Thus the First World War ended in the same way as other wars, in Balfour's words, with "a map of the world with more red on it." In his opinion the reason was geographical. But the expansion of the British Empire, he said, "might not be ascribed in other countries to its geographical cause."⁶⁵

Whatever its cause, imperialism at the Peace Conference was not easy to disguise, even by the founding of the mandates system. The fate of the Turkish territories and German colonies was determined, in Milner's frank words, by "a huge scramble." From their superior geographical position the British merely led the race.

⁶³ Eastern Committee Minutes, Secret, Dec. 9, 1918, Milner Papers. ". . . Why should England do this?" asked Lord Curzon. "Why should Great Britain push herself out in these directions? Of course, the answer is obvious—India." (*Ibid.*)

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Eastern Committee Minutes, Secret, Apr. 24, 1918, *ibid.*

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

IDEAS IN HISTORY: ESSAYS PRESENTED TO LOUIS GOTTSCHALK
BY HIS FORMER STUDENTS. Edited by *Harold T. Parker* and *Richard
Herr*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1965. Pp. xx, 380. \$10.00.)

READERS of this volume would do well to read the last essay first. In his modestly titled "Conclusion" Richard Herr states the book's main theme and summarizes the contributors' thinking about it, thus providing a guide to the preceding fourteen essays. It is, however, much more than a mere conclusion or summary. It is an analytical, and unusually provocative, essay on the role of ideas in history that deserves to be read in its own right. What exactly do we mean when we talk about ideas playing a role in history? What kinds or types of ideas are we talking about? Who holds the ideas? Herr tries with some success to bring precision to a subject that is, to say the least, "elusive" (see also Robert Palmer's telling remarks on its elusiveness). Among other things Herr distinguishes three types of ideas, which he labels concepts, images, and predispositions and which may be held by an individual, a group, or even a whole society. He also makes some rather good suggestions for further research in the field and urges the historian's collaboration with psychologists and social scientists. My only quarrel with Herr is that he does not leave the reviewer enough to do—at least not in a brief review such as this.

By calling attention to the concluding essay I do not mean to downgrade the others, which constitute most of the book and seem to me to be of nearly uniform excellence. Unfortunately, space permits only the briefest reference to their special content. The majority of them deal, appropriately in view of Professor Gottschalk's lifelong interests, with Frenchmen and French ideas, more especially of the eighteenth century. Two are on Spain, however, and three others describe topics as varied as Bentham's plan for a model prison, the dissolution of German "historism," and comparative views of Diderot by Soviet and "bourgeois" American historians. Possibly because of my own special interests I found particularly illuminating the two essays on historiography by Karl Weintraub and Georg Iggers. The former puts into sharp relief the varieties of Enlightenment historiography, represented here by Voltaire and Condorcet. The latter discusses the interrelationship between "historism" and German politics and the change in the German historical climate since the late nineteenth century.

Altogether, this is a worthy and stimulating *Festschrift*, centering on a problem with which Gottschalk has wrestled throughout his life. In the introductory essay Harold Parker describes Gottschalk's professional career and, as the blurb on the jacket says, places him "in the context of the developing American historiography of the twentieth century." There is a bibliography of his books and articles at the end of the book.

Yale University

FRANKLIN L. BAUMER

SCEPTICISM AND HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE. By *Jack W. Meiland*.
[Studies in Philosophy.] (New York: Random House. 1965. Pp. vii, 209.
\$1.95.)

THE author contrasts "the Discovery Theory of History" with "the Construction Theory of History," and it is the latter that he seeks to establish as correct. He characterizes this theory in terms of two main features: "a claim that the historian should not be regarded as trying to discover facts about an independently existing realm of past events"; and "a claim that history is nevertheless important and significant because it attempts to deal with a certain class of present entities (which we call 'documents' and which includes artifacts, memoirs, records, and memory beliefs) in a certain way." Thus, as he repeatedly emphasizes, it is his view that "each historian creates the past, or a part of the past in writing history."

Early in the book Meiland discusses Croce, Oakeshott, and Collingwood as examples of the construction theory, and he gives a plausible account of their views in these terms. These interpretations, however, while distinctly helpful, do not afford a careful, full, and historically correct account of why each of these theorists held the views that he did. The author's argument for the construction theory is not tied to idealism, as were the arguments of Croce, Oakeshott, and Collingwood. Nor is his argument tied to historical relativism. Meiland defines relativism as the view that historical judgments are inescapably biased, and he attempts to show that even though some of the critics of relativism (Ernest Nagel and Isaiah Berlin) fail to establish their views, relativism is itself an untenable position. What underlies his construction theory is not relativism, but, as he says, skepticism. In other words, his position is not that we are biased when we make historical judgments, but that such judgments create the past, and the past has no reality apart from our present acts of judgment.

The heart of the book lies in Chapters vi-x, where Meiland offers arguments in favor of historical skepticism. Each of his arguments is of a general epistemological nature, rather than being primarily directed toward the historian's discipline. As he says of these arguments, "if any one of the arguments for scepticism given in Part IV is sound, then there can be no historical knowledge at all about any aspect of, or event in the past, even if innumerable documents, artifacts, and ruins are available." As an example of such an argument, Meiland attempts in Chapter vi to show that skepticism is inevitable since historical knowledge is, by definition, knowledge about the past that is based upon evidence, and no present fact can, he argues, be correlated with a fact that is past. Thus, "nothing can serve as evidence about the past." If this general epistemological thesis were to be accepted, however, much besides historical knowledge would fall prey to skepticism. In the absence of any consideration of the further implications of the arguments offered in support of constructionism, many readers may feel that these highly general epistemological arguments are less relevant to the specific nature of history as a discipline than the author takes them to be.

Johns Hopkins University

MAURICE MANDELBAUM

NEW PERSPECTIVES IN WORLD HISTORY. *Shirley H. Engle*, Editor.
[Thirty-Fourth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies.]
(Washington, D. C.: the Council. 1964. Pp. xvi, 667. Cloth \$6.00, paper \$5.00.)

THE "Thirty-Fourth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies," designed for secondary-school teachers of world history, differs markedly from its counterpart of fifteen years ago: the "Twentieth Yearbook." Then the editors devoted their space to pedagogy and problems of course organization; now the stress lies upon content, and most of the contributions are the work of recognized specialists in their several fields. Part I contains essays on "ideas and movements" in world history; Parts II and III deal, respectively, with historical periods and regions of world cultures. Only Part IV, "New Perspectives in the Study and Teaching of World History," has an avowedly methodological aim. As many readers of the *American Historical Review* will recognize, the shift from method to content reflects a changing emphasis in secondary-school teaching.

On the whole, this is a commendable volume; editor and contributors have wasted little of the limited space at their disposal. In Part I, Marie Boas Hall contributes an excellent survey of recent scholarship in the history of science. Together with its companion essay, "The Technological Revolution and Social Reforms," by Melvin Kranzberg, it will compensate for weak spots in the training of many who teach world history or (for that matter) college level Western civilization courses. Readers will probably find the other two contributions in this part ("Main Currents in World Thought" and "Democracy in the History of Man") less fresh and of less practical use than the more specific offerings of Hall and Kranzberg.

For most readers the core of the book will lie in the two succeeding sections. With the exception of the first essay ("The Idea of Mankind in Decisive Periods of History"), all of the contributions are substantial, ranging in quality from the thoroughly adequate to the outstanding. Within the latter category, I would include John B. Wolf's "The Early Modern Period, 1500-1789," and Albert D. Mott's "Western Europe, 'The New Europe.'" Perhaps because his has been a neglected period, viewed until lately with contempt by the spiritual heirs of the French and American revolutionaries, Wolf has much to say about new interpretations, and he says it well. Mott's thoughtful synopsis of European developments since 1945 proves that we are far enough away from the postwar era to make substantial and suggestive generalizations about it.

Two flaws mar an otherwise valuable collection of essays. Since movements, periods, and regions overlap, information on specific points may be found in several places; unfortunately, no index provides access to the several references. The second flaw is a major one, traceable, perhaps, to an editorial oversight: since Wolf ends his essay at 1789, and Anderson takes up the tale of nineteenth-century Europe at 1815, the French Revolution and Napoleon are left in limbo.

Mount Holyoke College

JOHN L. TEALL

HYSTERIA: THE HISTORY OF A DISEASE. By *Ilza Veith*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 301. \$7.95.)

CERTAIN difficulties must be anticipated and faced in studying the history of diseases. The very concept of a disease and what causes it have changed so much that it is often difficult if not impossible to decide which modern disease coincides with an illness described centuries or millennia before our time. How far then can current terminology be applied to ancient accounts? Thought and behavior

with respect to illness in earlier times, moreover, are often obscure and difficult to interpret because of the fragmentary and not infrequently ambiguous nature of the evidence. Furthermore, to what extent is it possible to establish the incidence and prevalence of a disease in earlier periods and in various parts of the world? After all, reasonably adequate statistical data on health and disease exist only in economically developed countries, and even in those for only the past 100 or 150 years.

The issues raised above are specifically appropriate in reviewing the history of hysteria by Ilza Veith. Beginning almost four thousand years ago with some cases recorded in Egyptian papyri, the account moves through classical antiquity, and medieval and modern Europe, finally concluding in the twentieth century with a discussion of hysteria in relation to the evolution of psychoanalysis. Hysteria is a term derived from the Greek words *hystera* (the womb) and *hysterikos* (an adjective applied to women suffering from a disorder of the womb and exhibiting symptoms associated with such a condition). Today hysteria refers to a state of dissociation of mental and/or physical function, where the dissociated function may operate alongside normal consciousness or may exclude it entirely. The symptoms produced as a consequence may be highly flamboyant and dramatic, for instance, paralytic, spasmodic, and convulsive disturbances or sensory disorders such as blindness, deafness, or dumbness. The disorder is basically a result of mental conflict, related most often to sexuality, and there are connections between the conflict and the symptoms.

Hysteria has had many ramifications—social, religious, political, medical—throughout history and thus represents a difficult challenge to the historian. The author must be highly commended for her courage in undertaking this task, even though the result cannot be pronounced a complete success. Medical thought, that is, what physicians in different periods have said about the pathogenesis, diagnosis, and treatment of hysteria, provides the central core of Veith's work. In so far as Veith deals with medical authors, she provides a useful summary of theories and views on hysteria, even though she tends to assess more favorably those who emphasized psychic factors in the pathogenesis of hysteria.

However, when Veith endeavors to go beyond the strictly medical sources and to deal with the relationship of the disorder and medical thought to society, the basic weaknesses of this work in terms of method and content are clearly patent. One is the lack of a clear delineation of what the term hysteria actually covered in behavioral terms at various periods. This vagueness makes it difficult to evaluate such clinical material as is presented in terms of its own period as well as in relation to modern categories. This weakness is most glaring in the discussion of witchcraft. How significant it was in relation to other disorders and factors is never really made clear. The second weakness is that practically no use is made of a varied nonmedical literature. Again in her discussion of witchcraft, the author relies on rather weak secondary sources and is apparently unaware of such basic source collections as those of Hansen and Lea.

In summary, this is a useful compilation of medical thought on hysteria. As a history of a disease, it is incomplete and inadequate.

Columbia University

GEORGE ROSEN

ÉTUDES ET CHRONIQUE DE DÉMOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE, 1964.
([Paris:] Société de Démographie Historique. [1964.] Pp. 285. 18 fr.)

THIS first publication of the *Société de Démographie Historique* is uneven in quality, but is not without great interest. It is divided into four major sections: studies, chronicle, analyses and bibliography, and documents.

The studies vary most in quality. R. Étienne's defense of the demographic sources of the ancient world is fragile and unconvincing. He used the family records of Ausonius, the fourth-century *Bordelais* poet, to argue that the average age of death in that family was consistent with that derived from tombstones in a few other areas. He also argues that Ausonian marital characteristics and falling fertility were qualities that marked the upper classes of Antioch. On the basis of these data he determined that "the reactions of class were identical in the whole Roman Empire," a somewhat sweeping conclusion. E. Ésmonin's contribution deals with the movement of the French population between 1770 and 1789. Out of 104 pages, fully 100 are documents: letters between the *controleurs généraux* and the intendants and statistical tables drawn from many local archives. While these documents have much value in showing the demographic interests of the government and some of the difficulties of obtaining accurate demographic data, the statistical tables are raw data that require much further analysis before they can be used to estimate regional differences in rates of natural increase. The most interesting article is a short one by A. Armengaud on the subject of the nursing industry of the Morvan. Infants went from Paris to be nursed there, and nursemaids went to Paris with manifold consequences for demography, family structure, and even possibly politics. All in all, it is a significant contribution.

The chronicle consists of information on some past and future international conferences, longer than average book reviews of works that range in time from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, and a bibliographical article on work by French geographers on urban demography. The most valuable section here is the reviews.

The analyses and bibliography are somewhat misleadingly labeled. With the exception of a few analyses by Reinhard and Armengaud, the section consists mainly of bibliographical listings for various countries with at most a scant summary of the contents of the particular work. And there is no clear criterion on which the lists have been prepared: some go back to 1960, others to the 1950's, some to the 1930's, and one contains a work of 1911. There are, moreover, some omissions. A major advantage of this section is that it provides much information about what the Central and East Europeans have been doing in demographic history.

The section of documents is short and may be of interest to some specialists in Hungarian and French demographic history.

To sum up, although this work concentrates too much on France and has many omissions, it is nonetheless a tribute to the energy of Reinhard and Armengaud. Undoubtedly in the future they will be able to provide better-organized and more comprehensive coverage of European historical demography than they have done here.

Rutgers University

JOHN T. KRAUSE

THE STUDY OF URBANIZATION. Edited by *Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore*. (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1965. Pp. viii, 554. \$9.75.)

ALTHOUGH this book is not primarily a work of history, it should prove of considerable interest and value to historians. A collection of original essays, it is an outgrowth of the discussions of the Committee on Urbanization, which the Social Science Research Council appointed in 1958 to examine and report on the research and approaches taken by the several social disciplines interested in the city. As one of the editors writes, the purpose of the book is to direct "attention to gaps in existing knowledge," and to stimulate "research designed to fill these gaps."

The book contains fourteen essays, of which five discuss the state of knowledge in urban studies in the fields of history, geography, political science, sociology, and economics. Four additional essays canvass comparative studies, particularly in Asia and Latin America; four more papers discuss certain problems in urban geography and economics and the controversy over Redfield's contrast between the folk and urban ideal types.

Several of the essays, to be sure, are too narrowly focused upon the special concerns of their respective disciplines to attract the immediate interest of the historian, but all the essays are rich in bibliography. Moreover, the five essays that survey the state of knowledge in the various fields are excellent introductions to the conceptions and research directions of the disciplines engaged in the common enterprise of urban studies. All historians who have anything to do with the history of the city will profit, for example, from Gideon Sjoberg's critical review of urban theories in sociology, for he uses many historical examples. Also of interest to historians are two essays by Hauser and one by Sjoberg (he has two in the collection) that subject Louis Wirth's conception of the effects of urbanization to critical appraisal, pointing out that even the modern industrial city is not as socially disintegrative as Wirth assumed.

If Sjoberg's review of the literature suggests that sociology is divided and confused, Charles Glaab, in writing about American urban history accurately, though compassionately, depicts an even worse situation. There is an almost total absence of generalization about the city in the field of history, even though as a social unit the city is one of the oldest and by far the most important locales of man's history. Unlike historians, the practitioners of other social disciplines *try* to generalize. It might be added that Glaab and the only other historian among the contributors, Eric Lampard, are both primarily Americanists, though Lampard's essay here is focused on the earliest history of urbanization. The lack of historians of extra-United States areas is *ironical* since several of the sociological essays point out that the experience of cities in this country, which has been the mainstay of sociological studies, cannot be taken as universal.

Indeed, it is evident from several chapters that "the city" as a single factor, or as an "independent variable," no longer commands wide assent among sociologists. Sjoberg, who demolished the idea from one angle by his recent study of the preindustrial city, is joined here by the comparativists, who point out that cities not only differ across time, but also across space. Asian and Latin American cities, on the one hand, and European and American cities on the other, are socially quite different even though they are coeval.

To me the most provocative of all the essays was Nathan Keyfitz' "Political-Economic Aspects of Urbanization in South and Southeast Asia." Actually, the title is misleading since the content is neither confined to Asia nor as dull as the title leads one to expect. Using examples drawn from American, Asian, and European history, he argues the thesis that the city, in pursuit of a secure food supply, shapes the nation-state rather than the other way around, and that in the process of economic growth the city inevitably exploits the rural region. His thesis obviously fits the Asian situation best, but Keyfitz' bold application of the idea to the United States and some European countries, even if not wholly convincing and sometimes maddeningly wrong, is very much worth reading.

Vassar College

CARL N. DEGLER

THÉORIE SOCIOLOGIQUE DE L'IMPÔT. In two volumes. By *Gabriel Ardant*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1965. Pp. 718; 722-1212.)

TAXES, being payable in money, are more conducive to liberty than are levies in other forms, such as requisitions or forced labor. But taxes are never neutral; various forms of taxes affect in diverse ways the distribution of wealth, the growth of the economy, and the nature of government. Although a technique of enfranchisement (compared to other kinds of levies), they may destroy freedom, for the volume of taxes collectible in any society is limited. The amount that can be obtained without destroying freedom is restricted not only by the total production but also by the degree of commercial development: the more the relatively self-sufficient units in the society, the less the proportion of the product that can be collected in taxes. Efforts of governments to collect too much in relation to the commercial development have led to both revolts and tax evasion, and then to either collection through oppressive bureaucracies that stifled economic life, as in the late Roman Empire, or to dismemberment of the state into some kind of feudalism. To be sure, efforts to overcome the difficulties of collection sometimes led to the formation of representative institutions designed to secure the taxpayers' consent to being taxed, and when there was at the same time an increase in the commercialization of the society by application of the kind of policies that culminated in mercantilism, it had the success illustrated in Great Britain. But in France, with which these volumes are centrally concerned, representative government came only after centuries under a constraining, inefficient bureaucracy had created a tradition of antagonism to taxpaying, which is significantly expressed in "le mouvement Poujade" and in the prestige attached to tax dodging. This has limited France's ability to act as a great power.

The above theses are richly illustrated in more than one thousand pages by Gabriel Ardant, *Inspecteur Général des Finances*, and in one of his earlier studies in political economy a coauthor with Mendès-France. Very realistically Ardant looks behind legal forms as far as possible to consider the difficulties in collections, the administrative procedures used, and the practical effects. He distinguishes in the history of taxation three main stages: contemporary, intermediate, and rudimentary, corresponding roughly to the twentieth century, the nineteenth century, and the *ancien régime*. It is in regard to the last and to eighteenth-century France in particular that his historical research has been most thorough and

most rewarding. Noteworthy also is his discussion of the origin of taxes; he considers taxes, seignorial dues, forced labor, and tribute various species of the same genus. He has much of interest to say about the way the transition was made from other forms of levies to money levies. But his treatment of this theme, and also his analyses of the rudimentary taxation of the *ancien régime*, although full of insights and suggestiveness, may seem to a historian to lack thoroughness and balance because of his plan of organization. He discusses the same historical developments in many different sections of his work, following a scheme of organization determined apparently by theoretical or doctrinal considerations. The plan causes him to repeat himself frequently. To a large extent that is good for his main purpose, which is to persuade the reader of his general conclusions about the importance of taxation in determining policy and the way its forms depend on the degree of economic development. He rides some theories too hard, pounding historical facts into his theoretical mold in maintaining that the states most developed commercially have throughout history been the more powerful.

He concludes with sixty pages of bibliography, nearly all works in French. Its range is a reminder of how massive is the data from which Ardant had attempted to distill the meaning.

Johns Hopkins University

FREDERIC C. LANE

NEUF MENEURS INTERNATIONAUX: DE L'INITIATIVE INDIVIDUELLE DANS L'INSTITUTION DES ORGANISATIONS INTERNATIONALES PENDANT LE XIX^e ET LE XX^e SIÈCLE. By *Herbert Maza*. (Paris: Éditions Sirey. 1965. Pp. 384. 35 fr.)

ONE of the great questions men have struggled with for centuries is whether history makes men, men make history, or the forces of both are inseparable in their interaction. Mr. Maza tries to contribute to the answer by examining the importance of men in the creation of international institutions. He studies nine individuals whom he considers instrumental in the production of significant international changes or institutions. His heroes are William Wilberforce, who worked for the ending of the international trade in slaves; Henri Dunant, the originator of the International Red Cross; Frederick Passy and William R. Cremer, founders of the Interparliamentary Union and inspirers of the Permanent Court of Arbitration; David Lubin, creator of the International Institute of Agriculture; E. D. Morel, who engineered the end of Belgium's inhumane rule in the Congo; Salmon O. Levinson and James T. Shotwell, whose activities led to the Pact of Paris of 1928; and Raphael Lemkin, responsible for the Convention on Genocide.

Maza relies almost entirely on secondary sources and chiefly on the main biographies of his heroes. He briefly sketches their lives and concentrates on the parts relating to their main achievements. His intention was to discover, not new features of their lives and activities, but the secret of their success. His approach, however, condemned his enterprise to failure. He relates courses of events and the methods of his heroes. Yet a mere description of procedure tells little about the reason for the success of the process. The factors among which an answer to the great question must be sought are elsewhere. There are hardly any references to the personalities of the men; none to the effect they had upon those with whom

they dealt; and very few in the last chapter to the cultural, intellectual, and spiritual climate in which they worked.

The conclusions the author reaches, therefore, are most general, trite, and very unsophisticated, quite apart from their questionable validity considering the minute size of the sample. The author's main discovery, made previously by Aristotle, is that "the political organization seems to be the most important of the social mechanisms" to reach social, public ends. This discovery is followed by broad and general instructions on the construction of a political machine: its structure, means, and methods; recruitment of personnel and followers; and the character and role of the leader. In trying to relate the general principles of this "Guide to Becoming a Successful Lobbyist" to his heroes, the author points out that they do not all fit because there are always exceptions. Unfortunately for the author's theses, his heroes simply refuse to fall into a pattern, except that they all have "talent and convictions"; and history refuses to repeat itself. His reader has become no wiser about the great question of the relation between history and men.

University of Hawaii

WERNER LEVI

LES TERRORISTES. By *Roland Gaucher*. (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1965. Pp. 372. 19.20 fr.)

THE stated purpose of this book is not to examine the history of terror in an exhaustive fashion but rather to study "certain essential moments, to describe the most lively episodes, to portray the actors, to try to understand the means and to compare successes and failures." Within the objective, and expanding the definition of terror to include guerrilla warfare, Roland Gaucher studies this disagreeable human activity within four contexts: revolutionary terror in Russia beginning in the late 1860's; terror and counterrevolution in Russia after 1917; terror invoked for independence by nationalists in Macedonia, Ireland, Israel, and Algeria; and, finally, terror as an instrument to defend a community, exemplified by the secret army in Algeria and France. The sources upon which this volume rests are books plus a few periodicals, all in the French language.

That terrorism will not diminish in the foreseeable future is Gaucher's major conclusion. In less than a century—the distance between "nineteenth-century idealism" and our present age of "inhuman concern for the efficient"—a vast number of terrorist techniques tested themselves, underwent analysis and perfection, to find their way into handbooks. In our times, according to this study, terrorism tends to become a substitute for war. Other less sweeping but equally challenging observations result from this thoughtful comparative study. Recruitment is usually accomplished through fear and is successful when men and women, fearing terror more than the regime's law, unite. Also contributing to the terrorist ranks are men who feel absolutely hemmed in, blocked in their hopes to secure evolutionary change, as in the cases of Irish and Algerian nationalists. When nationalist and religious aspirations come together, then terrorist-guerrilla tactics enjoy better odds. Underdeveloped areas provide excellent soil for the terrorist seed, and the rural area usually offers more promise than the urban. Success often graces the operation that maintains its technicians both in

the field of battle and abroad: Macedonians as beneficiaries of a Bulgarian base; the Soviet Union as a training area for Chinese cadres, with China later serving the Vietminh, and later Hanoi in turn supporting the partisans of the south; or, again, Cairo as a refuge for the Algerian FLN leaders, with Tunisia and Morocco providing refuge for hard-pressed guerrillas. Later, independent Algeria offered its hospitality to the nationalist freedom fighters of Angola.

As provocative as this book is, its sample is still limited and therefore its lesson tentative. We need to study more deeply the psychology of the terror of change against the mind governing the establishment's particular kind of terror. Still, any book that can connect seriously the mind, life, and attitudes of Harlem with those same phenomena in the Algiers Casbah deserves a close reading and critical reflection.

Oakland University

RICHARD M. BRACE

ESSAYS IN HISTORY AND LITERATURE: PRESENTED BY FELLOWS OF THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY TO STANLEY PARGELLIS. Edited by *Heinz Bluhm*. (Chicago: Newberry Library. 1965. Pp. viii, 231. \$15.00.)

STUDENTS and scholars who have known both the old Newberry Library in Chicago and its latter-day role as an active research institution have some appreciation of the contribution of Stanley Pargellis to that transformation during his twenty years' tenure as librarian. For he did much to make it a first-rate library for historical and humanistic studies, as Ray Billington explains in his perceptive introductory essay in this volume. One of the innovations was the establishment of the fellows program, and from a group of past fellows now comes this handsome *Festschrift*.

Some of the literary essays are of only peripheral interest to the historian, but "The Infernal Hazlitt" by Herschell M. Sikes is a delightful account, with a surprise ending, of the intricacies of public and private friendship. Among the several biographical studies is a thoughtful essay by Archer Taylor, which suggests a number of fruitful avenues for research in the history of bibliography as a part of the larger history of ideas. Several contributors are concerned with the perennial problem of the authorship of anonymous books. The rest of the essays are of more immediate interest to students of Renaissance and early modern European history. The emphasis is decidedly more humanistic than "social scientific," although a bit of the latter is evident. Thus Hans Baron, in his discussion of a fifteenth-century Venetian chronicle in the Newberry collection, points out the significance of such manuscripts for economic history. But Heinz Bluhm, in his essay on "The Pride of Martin Luther," unfortunately pays no attention whatsoever to the current literature on Luther's psychological make-up. Hannah A. Gray, on the other hand, eschews any psychological analysis, literary or otherwise, and her contribution on "Valla's *Encomium* of St. Thomas Aquinas and the Humanist Conception of Christian Antiquity" was, for me, the most valuable essay in the volume. Valla's *Encomium* was really a cleverly written "anti-eulogy" of Aquinas, she explains, in which the humanist-orator "just admitted the Angelic Doctor to the company of angels and then almost denied him access to the circle of doctors." Using this seeming paradox as a springboard,

she proceeds to a lucid discussion of the contrasting humanist attitudes toward the Church fathers and the Scholastics.

University of Arkansas

GORDON H. McNEIL

THE THIRD DIMENSION: STUDIES IN LITERARY HISTORY. By Robert E. Spiller. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1965. Pp. vii, 245. Cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.45.)

ROBERT Spiller, chairman of the editorial board that produced the *Literary History of the United States* (1948), is a leader of the organized American studies movement and is generally recognized as the presiding spirit among historians of American literature. In the present volume he has gathered essays and speeches written between 1929 and 1963, all of them about, or exemplifications of, literary history. At the outset he raises the question, "Is Literary History Obsolete?" and the rest of the book is, in effect, the answer. The first section defines the problem, the second demonstrates what a literary historian can do, and the third sums up Spiller's views on the theory of literary history and the present state of scholarship and teaching in American studies at home and abroad. Attention will be paid to whatever Spiller says on these matters. He speaks with the quiet authority and good sense of a man who has devoted a lifetime to the study of the subject.

Spiller's answer is that literary history, though not obsolete, surely is in eclipse: "the critical reading of a work of art has taken over the center of the educational stage." But to put it this way is to miss the more profound implications of the pedagogical revolution marked by the ascendancy of the "new" or "analytical" criticism. The whole emphasis has shifted from literature as a source of knowledge about the past to the immediate, intellectual, and emotional efficacy of literature. Most teachers consider this change salutary, for it puts the emphasis on what is, after all, the unique power of imaginative writing. But this is not to say that historical knowledge is irrelevant, only that it must be subordinated to a primary concern with the work itself, and this is what Spiller wisely recommends.

He is also quite right in thinking that the analytic method is no substitute for the history of literature. But here again the relation between historian and critic is difficult. For the historian must have criteria of selection, and that means that either he becomes a critic or embraces the work of other critics. This difficulty is analogous to the "split" Spiller describes between two parties in the American studies movement: one that is scientifically oriented and concerned to describe the way the culture has developed, and another that is avowedly critical in the sense that it considers assessment a part of its task. The unspoken message of this candid book is that we need scholars capable of both detachment and forthright judgment. For humanistic disciplines that try to avoid this exacting duty the penalty may well be obsolescence.

Amherst College

LEO MARX

THE CAREER OF PHILOSOPHY. Volume II, FROM THE GERMAN ENLIGHTENMENT TO THE AGE OF DARWIN. By John Herman Randall, Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 675. \$12.95.)

THIS is the second of three volumes in Randall's narrative, documentary, and critical account of philosophy in modern times. As was true of Volume I, the chief merit of this volume lies in the thoroughness, the perspicacity, and the wit that characterize Randall's historiographical strategy. That strategy entails newly scouring the voluminous and often obscure primary sources in the original languages, weighing the interpretations and evaluations in the main secondary literature, and reaching and supporting his own lively and sometimes highly controversial conclusions.

Many new insights will be found here into the role played by influential figures from about 1700 to 1850 in the making of our present outlook and in the evolution of our present basic problems on the morally good, the scientifically sound, and the fundamentally real. The figures covered include not only the giants of reflective thought but also significant, though insufficiently known, secondary thinkers, writers, and statesmen.

The eighteen chapters on "Building the German Tradition" present an organized perspective on the advance of thought from Leibniz and the "pre-suppositions of German thought" through the *Aufklärung*, Kant, the romantics, Hegel, Marx, and Engels, with due attention to many lesser lights. Four chapters follow on "The Problems of Integrating French Culture," with sparkling characterizations of the philosophes, their successors (the socialists and Positivists), Claude Bernard, and other French explorers of the basic problems of man. Finally, Randall perceptively examines in seven chapters "British Problems—Traditionalism and Individualism," expounding and probing the contributions of Burke, Newman, Coleridge, the Scottish realists, and the utilitarians.

On the basis of two of Randall's three volumes, we may properly, though partly in anticipation, apply to him the admiring words of Catullus' poem extolling Cornelius Nepos for having "dared to exhibit the whole span of world history in a work of three parts, which—by God!—were learned and painstaking" (*doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis*). Yet Randall is also expert in the art of pithy generalization. With skill, he depicts, in the closing pages of this volume, the progress of philosophy from 1700 to 1850 in these tight statements: "Philosophy had become nationalistic in character. There was now a powerful German tradition, with its philosophy of natural science rooted in Kant, and its philosophy of the historical and social sciences—the *Geisteswissenschaften*, as they were soon to be called—rooted in Hegel and the Romantics. For France, both sets of sciences had been organized in the social synthesis of Comte. And Britain had worked out an official Liberal philosophy that still directed a social science largely to social criticism. Meanwhile, in the more rigid class societies of Germany and France, there was emerging the new social philosophy of a rising class, the industrial workers. Into this divided situation, at the psychological moment, there was dropped the bombshell of Darwin's biological version of evolution, and of man's natural status in Nature."

While Randall's fairness to thinkers of every viewpoint is apparent, I find him somewhat overfriendly to the German romantics and Hegel, and a bit hard on Mill.

University of Maryland

WILLIAM GERBER

MARXISM: ONE HUNDRED YEARS IN THE LIFE OF A DOCTRINE.

By *Bertram D. Wolfe*. (New York: Dial Press. 1965. Pp. xxiii, 404. \$6.95.)

THE contrast between Mr. Wolfe's explicit thesis and his actual argument is remarkable. On the surface, in the chapter and section headings, and in summary comments along the way, he seems to be supporting the familiar interpretation of Marxism as an ambiguous heritage, accommodating such opposites as democracy and dictatorship, nationalism and internationalism, revolution and reform, science and utopia, and so on. But what, in fact, emerges from his presentation is a surprisingly consistent, single-minded Marxism, and a Marxism, moreover, that can only be described as orthodox Leninist in character.

After opening the study with a lengthy review of militantly nationalistic and even jingoistic statements by Marx and Engels, which showed them to be "among the most warlike men in Europe," Wolfe returns time and again to "the extreme voluntarism of the young Marx of 1844 to the middle of 1850," closely associates Marx's attitudes and policies with those of Babeuf, Blanqui, and the Jacobins, and emphasizes his intense commitment to violent and permanent revolution, his penchant for tight centralization, and his intolerance of weak national minorities. In short, it is the Marx of the *Circular* of March 1850 ("one is tempted to say, Leninist *Circular*") that clearly fascinates Wolfe, in radical contrast to recent students of Marxism who concentrate on the *Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts* of 1844 in an effort to portray Marx as a humanist existentialist.

The disheartening fiascos of the mid-century revolutions, so Wolfe argues, created a new Marx, or at least began the process that was to form a more mature and wiser Marx, one who realized the necessity of waiting until conditions were really propitious for revolution and who conceded the possibility of a democratic road to socialism. It is the British Museum Marx, with his "long mole's work of burrowing through mounds of economic literature" in order to prove that history would inevitably deliver what the revolutionaries had so miserably failed to achieve themselves.

Here, in particular, Wolfe's argument and material get the better of his general thesis. In spite of an occasional liberal-sounding quotation from Marx and a questionable practice of allowing Marx to share the favorable impression made by a number of Engels' revisionist statements, Marx remains very much the Leninist. As Wolfe himself shows, the later Marx "masked his will under the protective disguise of necessity," at no time expressly repudiated his extremist position of 1850, persistently and heatedly opposed the emerging democratic labor movements of England and Germany, distorted the character of the Commune of 1871 in order to impose "a revolutionary legend on the growing Social-Democratic movement that was incompatible with its practical program and day-to-day activities," and constantly displayed a truly Leninist flair for packing congresses, enforcing rigid centralization, purging dissident members, preferring isolation to theoretical compromise, and heaping brutal *ad hominem* invective on fellow socialists.

But all this is secondary to the essential undemocratic aspect of Marx's efforts during these later years; for, Wolfe eloquently contends in the final sections of the book (which should be read first), "it was the *hubris* that prompted [Marx]

to call his critique and proposals *scientific* that was the source of the corruption of his dogmas and his disciples" and the cause of "so many brutalities perpetrated in his name." In other words, "it is from the Marxism of the mature Marx that so much obvious and shocking evil has flowed," and it is to this mature, historicist Marx that Wolfe assigns his most pejorative epithets, "demonic" and "megalo-maniacal."

Wolfe has written a splendid and massive denunciation of this demonic worship of "Strange Gods" and has set against it, repeatedly, passionately, and convincingly, the social philosophy of "meliorism," the modest gradualism that has brought the West to the very threshold of the good society. It is a fine and noble statement. Yet, has it relevance beyond our own blessed realm of utopia? Somehow, the good and true counsel that would have us "walk lightly" since "things are not so simple" seems misplaced in the exploding world that surrounds our sanctuary. In passing, Wolfe criticizes Engels for expecting too much reform from the existing institutions of the First *Reich* and neatly distinguishes between the paths of progress in open societies and those rigidly bound by inflexible traditions. After all, in the vast ranges of our world where Marxism and Leninism are imbibed with no less passion than Wolfe here displays in their abandonment, ideology is far from ending, and, sinfully demonic or not, unbound Prometheus marches on.

University of Michigan

ARTHUR P. MENDEL

YOUTH AND COMMUNISM: AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST YOUTH MOVEMENTS. By *Richard Cornell*. (New York: Walker and Company. 1965. Pp. 239. \$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Richard Cornell of the State University of New York, Buffalo, who received his Ph.D. degree from Columbia University for a thesis on the Communist Youth International from 1914 to 1924, has in this book tried to expand his field of study to cover the entire international Communist youth movement from its appearance before the First World War through 1964. He has also sought to write a general book that would be of interest and significance for well-informed Americans seeking knowledge about Communists and their impact on youth groups, certainly an important and laudable goal.

This is, unfortunately, a light and shallow book, almost entirely useless either for the man on the street or for the scholar-teacher. The book is based largely on English sources. It raises none of the important questions, and it provides no insights. Cornell has devoted less than thirty pages to youth movements of the Communist countries since the end of the Second World War. He provides only one page on Communist China, approximately the same amount on each of most of the other countries now ruled by Communists, and seven pages each to the Soviet Union and to East Germany. Moreover, none of the information he produced in this chapter is of any real value or utility.

In short, this is basically a worthless book. One wonders why or how it was published.

Indiana University

ROBERT F. BYRNES

MARXISM IN THE MODERN WORLD. By *Raymond Aron et al.* Edited by *Milorad M. Drachkovitch*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. 1965. Pp. xv, 293. \$5.95.)

As is to be expected in a volume written by eight very different authors, *Marxism in the Modern World* is somewhat uneven. But the good outweighs the mediocre. Dr. Drachkovitch has wisely eliminated non-Communists from the discussion on contemporary Marxism. This will be resented by many who think of themselves as Marxists, but reject the intellectually conformist and politically authoritarian society which, whatever their particular subdivision, is the goal of Communists.

Six of the eight essays deal with a major Marxist manifestation or variation thereof: Leninism, Stalinism, and Khrushchevism within the Soviet context; Titoism, Maoism, and Castroism outside the Soviet context. Bertram Wolfe discusses Leninism with intimate knowledge and objectivity in an essay that is philosophical as well as historical—probably, for me, the best in the book. The essay on Stalinism is, regrettably, the weakest. Carried away by the emotions and passions of the time long ago when he was an influential party member who broke with Stalin, Boris Souvarine hardly renders justice to the man he hated. Whatever one may think of Stalin, it was he who provided Communism with a workable formula for the organization of the collectivist economy. Stalinist integral planning is on the same level as the Leninist one-party state as a major contribution not only to Communism but also to social nationalist and national socialist movements today ruling a large number of countries. The other four essays, on Khrushchevism by Merle Fainsod, on Titoism by Adam Ulam, on Maoism by Arthur Cohen, and on Castroism by Theodore Draper, are very competent and highly informative. Not everyone will agree with the view of Khrushchevism as largely the advocacy of an economic policy favorable to the consumers; nor with the view of the uniqueness of Castroism. There is likely to be more agreement on Titoism, presented as an attempt which, successful in Yugoslavia, was a failure in terms of world Communism; and on Maoism, as the continuation of Stalinism.

Agreements or disagreements apart, the information that scholars of Marxism require is contained in the six essays. Raymond Aron's introductory chapter on the impact of Marxism in the twentieth century is, as would be expected, a brilliant essay. Easy to read, it contains several remarkable insights lucidly expressed. He stresses the point often made by non-Marxist European scholars that a critique of capitalism is not a blueprint for socialism, Communism, or collectivism. As socialists, Marxists can go ideologically and practically in different directions without betraying the master for the simple reason that there is nothing to betray. Of course no one can measure the extent to which divergent ideas and institutions affect the unity that faith gives to Marxism. In the concluding essay Richard Lowenthal finds in the stages of economic development the factor differentiating Khrushchevism and Maoism, a theory that fails to explain Titoism and Castroism. The effort made in the same essay to discover the principle determining the greater or lesser success of Communism in various

sections of the underdeveloped third world reminds the reader of the painstaking labor of numberless scholars to discover the "laws" governing society. Impressed by the growth of polycentrism, Lowenthal leaves aside the fact that for much of the third world intelligentsia, Communism is more important than its subdivisions, just as centuries ago Christianity spread in spite of the bitter, at times violent, quarrels between Donatists, Nestorians, Arians, and other sects.

Smith College

M. SALVADORI

A SHORT HISTORY OF MACHINE TOOLS. By L. T. C. Rolt. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1965. Pp. 256. \$7.50.)

MACHINE tools are the foundations upon which much of our industrial economy rests, and yet the names and stories of the great toolmakers are relatively unknown. It is to remedy this neglect that L.T.C. Rolt has produced this survey of machine-tool development. An engineer by training, Rolt is the author of several excellent biographies of British inventors and is extremely well qualified to write technological history. His writing is, furthermore, comprehensible to the general historian, and only in a few places do the technical descriptions make it difficult for the nontechnical reader to follow the story. Rolt's work is by no means a comprehensive and definitive history of all machine tools. He limits himself to the development of metal-cutting tools; yet these are the basic tools, "the engineer's machines that make machines." He also limits his story to British and American developments, but he goes beyond Samuel Smiles's biographical works, and he relies heavily on Joseph W. Roe's *English and American Tool Builders* and Robert S. Woodbury's monographs. Unlike many British historians, Rolt gives full credit to American inventors. French and German contributions to machine-tool development are, however, largely neglected, and the recent claims of Soviet historians to Russian priorities in invention are omitted entirely.

Within these limits Rolt has done an excellent job of synthesizing his materials. Avoiding a mere listing of inventions, he makes a serious attempt to relate machine-tool developments with social and economic factors. He makes clear, for example, that it was not capitalistic greed that provided the major stimulus to machine-tool innovation, but the skilled craftsmen themselves who innovated changes. Instead of being designed to replace craftsmen, the great machines of the nineteenth-century British toolmakers were evolved to solve novel production problems. Because existing tools and the contemporary level of craftsmanship were inadequate, inventors sought to "build the skill into the tool." This attempt to free production from the possibilities of human error and fallibility has evolved into today's fully automatic tool.

Rolt is at his best when describing the propagating power of tools, showing how a tool developed to solve a particular production problem frequently proved itself applicable to much wider fields. The interaction of machine tools and their products is also clearly shown.

This book presents an excellent compendium of the history of machine tools, and some one hundred line drawings and photographs illustrate the major features of the machines discussed. Unfortunately there are few footnotes, and it

is not always possible to guess whence Rolt derived the quotations sprinkled throughout his text. This book is a valuable addition to the history of technology, dealing competently with an important yet hitherto neglected aspect of this significant field.

Case Institute of Technology

MELVIN KRANZBERG

DIE BEZIEHUNGEN HAMBURG'S ZU SPANIEN UND DEM SPANISCHEN AMERIKA IN DER ZEIT VON 1740 BIS 1806. By *Hans Pohl*. [Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Number 45.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1963. Pp. xiii, 371. DM 32.)

To previous works on the relations of the Hanseatic cities, chiefly Hamburg, to Spain, Hans Pohl now adds his doctoral dissertation, which concerns the commercial and shipping relations between Hamburg and Spain and those, direct and indirect, between Hamburg and Spanish America in the period 1740 to 1806. The beginning of this period saw the re-establishment of the Hanseatic consulates in Cádiz and Málaga and of the Hanseatic diplomatic representative in Madrid, as well as the appointment by the Spanish king of the first Spanish consul in Hamburg. The period ends with the occupation of Hamburg by Napoleon's troops, the British blockade of the harbors on the Elbe, Weser, and Ems Rivers, and the disappearance of Hamburg's commerce with Spain and Spanish America until after 1815.

Although Pohl does not enter deeply into the diplomatic and political relations, he does treat briefly the conflict between Hamburg and Spain over the former's relation to Spain's bitterest enemy in Africa, Algiers, and of the conflict between Spain and Hamburg over the latter's attitude toward transporting Spanish recruited mercenaries in Hamburg to Spain. Most rewarding to the interested reader are Pohl's chapters on shipping and commerce, which give the details of ships and shipmasters, of harbors and routes, of dangers, obstacles, and losses experienced in navigation—pirates, disease, shipwreck—of exports to, and imports from, Spain, and of the direct commerce of Hamburg with the Spanish possessions in America and the West Indies, including again, names of ships and captains, merchants and their business establishments, commodities, weights, and prices. Most valuable to the specialist are Pohl's appendix, with its documentary reproductions of letters and certificates, of charts and tables concerning Hamburg and Spanish coins, weights and measures, ship traffic, and exports of Hamburg and Spain; his archival information on unprinted sources, used and destroyed, which reveals how arduous has been his searching in the archives of the Hanseatic and Spanish cities; and his registers of names of places and persons. The book is well written, constructed in the best scholarly tradition, a solid contribution to eighteenth-century economic history.

University of California, Santa Barbara

HENRY M. ADAMS

AMERICA, RUSSIA, HEMP, AND NAPOLEON: AMERICAN TRADE WITH RUSSIA AND THE BALTIC, 1783-1812. By *Alfred W. Crosby, Jr.* ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 320. \$6.50.)

MARRED by flippancy, exaggeration, and shortness of reach for merely verbal effects, this book nevertheless contributes to our knowledge of the subject indicated in the subtitle. Besides providing a convenient summary of American trade with Russia and the Baltic during the period in question, it draws on numerous consular reports, ministerial reports from Copenhagen and St. Petersburg, logbooks, mercantile letter books, and other sources to show the corroding effects of American shipping upon Napoleon's Continental System. Particularly rewarding are discussions of the uses of the British licensing system following the Treaty of Tilsit, the British practice of providing convoys to protect American merchantmen in the Baltic against Danish privateers, and John Quincy Adams' experiences in commercial diplomacy as American minister in St. Petersburg after 1809. The discursive flow of American shipping and commodities in the Baltic during the years 1809-1812 is clearly delineated.

Since most of the book, like most of the trade, concerns the years immediately preceding the War of 1812, it is a pity the author did not frame his assessment of the significance of the trade in political and diplomatic rather than economic terms. As in the case of World War II, Russo-American trade was largely a wartime phenomenon. More narrowly, its burgeoning during the years 1809-1811, inclusive, was a short-lived aftermath of the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit. Having agreed therein to shut Russian ports against the British, Alexander became increasingly dependent upon American vessels and goods. It is true that even in peacetime American manufacture of maritime rope depended very heavily upon Russian hemp and that imports of finer Russian linens and "quality" iron from Russia and Sweden were also important. But even at its high point in 1811 American exports to Russia amounted to only 10 per cent of total exports. And, as the author acknowledges, not only were most of the goods shipped of foreign rather than American origin, but "great quantities" of the imports from Russia were re-exported rather than consumed in the United States. The author's conclusion, therefore, that "To an appreciable extent, the American economy survived and prospered because it had access to the unending labor and rough skill of the Russian muzhik" is hardly justified. I find incredible the observation that "the American sailor" was "possibly the most important individual in our young economy."

Columbia University

STUART BRUCHEY

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume IX, WAR AND PEACE IN AN AGE OF UPHEAVAL, 1793-1830. Edited by *C. W. Crawley*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 748. \$9.50.)

PLANNERS of this volume had the novel, and challenging, idea to disregard 1815 as a chronological watershed and to see what would emerge if one superimposed on the stuff of history a 1793-1830 frame and tried to depict the main contours of what lay within. The aim, the editor states at the outset, is "to offer a portrait." "Stirring episodes, locally decisive battles, commanding personalities," he warns, "may receive no more than passing mention or may even be sought in vain in the index." (Actually, I found most of the important persons I could think of, as well as a good many more, in the index.)

In terms of its avowed purpose of presenting a portrait of the age, the volume does not entirely succeed, for this is not a book to be read as though it were clearly focused on a well-defined subject and moved by some logical progression from a beginning to an end. Although to the uninitiated the title would seem to suggest world history, the book is, in fact, "a survey of Europe and some of its links with distant regions"—a loose field of study that is loosely interpreted. Thus there is no chapter on British internal political history, but the British Navy and British painting and architecture are discussed in sometimes parochial detail. (The architects "William Wilkins and Robert Smirke," the reader is informed, "were not men of genius.") The chronological frame is often breached. Even for France, which provides the pegs for the volume as a whole (the execution of Louis XVI for the beginning, the abdication of Charles X for the end), the narrative goes all the way to 1847, as do the chapters on the Austrian monarchy and on "Literature and Thought," whereas others break off at 1815.

If, however, one takes the volume not for what it professes to be, but for what it actually is—a collection of twenty-five chapters by twenty-six different authors of professional competence on various aspects of the period roughly defined as 1793–1830—there is much of a positive nature to be said for it. Some of the chapters, read for their intrinsic merit, are excellent; most of them reach a high standard. In general, the best chapters are those which take seriously the stated terminal dates and seek a synthesis within this frame. Outstanding is John Walsh's discussion of "Church and State in Europe and the Americas," which handles with sovereign mastery much detail from many places. Another very successful chapter is that on "Science and Technology" by C. C. Gillispie, which combines substance with interpretation in a form well adapted to the non-specialist reader. It ties in well with John Roach's discussion of education. S. M. K. Vyvyan on Russia and W. H. Bruford on Germany succeed admirably in treating social, economic, intellectual, and political developments as an interrelated whole. Unfortunately, the German section, which reflects throughout Bruford's ripe scholarship, breaks off for practical purposes at 1815. Neither the *Zollverein* nor the German Confederation receives more than passing attention anywhere in the volume. F. Thistlethwaite's chapter on "The United States and the Old World" is a tour de force, command of the material expressing itself in a clean style, with the particular fact well selected to illuminate the dominant themes. R. A. Humphrey on the "Emancipation of Latin America" is also very good. In both these instances the periodization 1793–1830 works out well.

A general impression from the volume is one of de-emphasis of the French Revolution in its later phase, and of Napoleon. Napoleon is treated with cool detachment. Although his regime consolidated the achievements of the Revolution in France itself, his foreign policy ran counter to the historic trends, and its most lasting effects were contributions to what he did not want.

As *The New Cambridge Modern History* nears completion, it is still not clear what audience is in view. A substantial knowledge of European history is presupposed, but the absence of bibliographies or discussions of the literature much reduces the value of the individual volume as a work of reference for the advanced student, though perhaps the "Companion to Modern History," which

will be Volume XIII of the series, will partly make up for the deficiency. At present, in my opinion, the better volumes of the Langer series and of "Peuples et Civilisations" are more successful in providing a portrait of an age and a ready work of reference.

Stuttgart, Germany

PAUL R. SWEET

CENT ANS D'HISTOIRE: L'ALLIANCE ISRAËLITE UNIVERSELLE ET LA RENAISSANCE JUIVE CONTEMPORAINE (1860-1960). By *André Chouraqui*. Preface by *René Cassin*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1965. Pp. xvi, 528. 30 fr.)

THIS study of the *Alliance*, based on its surviving archives, covers the role played by this first major international Jewish organization in Jewish emancipation in Europe and in what was the Ottoman Empire. The career of the *Alliance* from 1860 onward reflects some of the principal dramatic changes in Judaism. Founded on the basis of the ideals of the French Revolution, the *Alliance* has been dedicated to working for the emancipation and moral progress of the Jews and to helping those who suffer as Jews. It sought to achieve political equality for Jews everywhere and to educate them so that they could fully participate in their societies.

Though international in theory, the *Alliance* was French oriented in practice. As French influence expanded, the *Alliance* found its natural area of concern that of the Jews from Morocco to Persia and the Balkans. Schools were established there, and from 1862 onward these schools spread French learning and Jewish studies throughout this vast area of forgotten Jewry. The *Alliance* set up the first agricultural school in Palestine, and the first taught in Hebrew. Though involved in early plans for a revival of Judaism in Palestine, the *Alliance* opposed Zionism until after World War II. More and more the *Alliance* devoted itself to educational work in North Africa and the Near East, continuing as best it could through the war, only to see the Jewish communities there disappear as the new Arab nations emerged. Most of its students moved to Israel, where the *Alliance* is still aiding in integrating them into the Israeli world.

Chouraqui's book is a panorama of the activities of the *Alliance* and its leaders and the rapid changes in recent Jewish history. It is a moving story, especially concerning the revival of the Jewish communities of North Africa through the work of the *Alliance*, and then the rapid collapse of these communities as Morocco, Tunis, and Algeria became independent, and as anti-Zionism affected the Arab states. Chouraqui places these events on the vast canvas of Islamic and Jewish history. He also gives touching pictures of the development of Jewish Palestine and of the transformation of the *Alliance's* North African pupils from the elite of their original societies to the bottom of the present Israeli world. The book is also interesting as a study of a kind of early Peace Corps that succeeded very well until the world for which it was designed vanished.

This book is not just a history of the *Alliance* (though it is quite thorough, and includes one hundred pages of important documents), nor just an apologia for its Francophilism, its anti-Zionism, and its lack of involvement in the Dreyfus case (though it tries to make them all plausible). It is more. It is an interpretation

of the major trends of Jewish history in the last one hundred years: the emancipation, the rise of modern anti-Semitism, the elimination of Judaism from most of Western and Central Europe, its tragic drama in the reawakening of the Mediterranean Basin, and the polarization of contemporary Jewry into three centers, the flourishing ones in America and Israel, and the silent one in Russia. In this Chouraqui is an insightful observer and analyst, sensitive to many of the tensions and new developments. His volume should be of interest to all those working on modern Jewish history, as well as to scholars of North Africa, the Levant, the Balkans, and France.

University of California, San Diego

RICHARD H. POPKIN

DIE IDEE DES FÖDERALISMUS IM JAHRZEHNT DER DEUTSCHEN EINIGUNGSKRIEGE: DARGESTELLT UNTER BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DES MODELLS DER AMERIKANISCHEN VERFASSUNG FÜR DAS DEUTSCHE POLITISCHE DENKEN. By *Rudolf Ullner*. [Historische Studien, Number 393.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1965. Pp. 164.)

It was rather a matter of coincidental concatenation than of causal or consequential connection that the political unification of the Germany of the Second *Reich* and the testing and strengthening of the Federal Union of the United States, both by civil wars, occurred during the same decade. Neither, in the opinion of Rudolf Ullner, very materially affected the other.

The author suggests that one would not go far wrong in attributing at least some part of the German emigration to the US during that decade to pessimism as to the political development to be expected. In the years following 1848 even more had emigrated, many of whom were among the most hopeful of the American observers, soon to be again disappointed.

To Ullner, federation (not too strongly centralized), freedom, and democracy go naturally together where there exists the will to federate spontaneously. The Germany of the unification period had not enough of any of these. In addition, there were too many obstacles in the way: established institutions, habits, and behavior patterns; the hereditary princes of the territorial states; and, most formidable of all, Bismarck.

Bismarck despised the petty particularism of the other states while glorifying Prussia's. He was intent on making Prussia first into a great power and only then into a member state of the Empire, which he and Prussia must lead if not dominate. As a master practitioner of a policy of political realism he saw clearly that if Prussia were to achieve in his day the pre-eminent position he coveted for it and for himself it must be done despite Austria and France and in a sense at the expense of the other German states and even of parliamentary government and political liberalism within Prussia itself. Reasonableness and persuasion had their uses, particularly with potentially helpful individuals; compulsion backed by force or the threat of force got results less cheaply perhaps but more quickly. He generally counseled patience and told others he knew how to wait, but he was not always patient while waiting. Bismarck chose therefore the quicker way to unification, making the constitutions of the North German

Confederation of 1867 and of the Hohenzollern Empire, two similar versions of virtually the same thing, into a diplomatic document setting up a league of princes rather than a voluntary federation of vigorous member states.

Ullner cites many German writers, from Treitschke to Frantz, Froebel, Meinecke, Preuss, Wilhelm Mommsen, and Arnold Brecht. Treitschke had hoped before the wars of unification to see the flags of Hohenfriedberg and Leuthen fly again in a civil war that he would have welcomed. The others generally recognized the inherent weaknesses of the imperial structure in comparison with a genuinely popular state, but the will to democracy, like the will to federate, was not strong enough. Perhaps Gladstone expressed more than merely British liberal opinion: Bismarck had made Germany larger and Germans smaller.

Hiram College

CHESTER V. EASUM

THE DEUTSCHTUM OF NAZI GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES. By *Arthur L. Smith, Jr.* [International Scholars Forum, Number 15.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965. Pp. 172. Cloth Glds. 19.25, paper Glds. 16.75.)

WHEN, a decade ago, Martinus Nijhoff began the publication of the "International Scholars Forum (A Series of Books by American Authors)," there was some concern expressed as to the subject matter that the series would encompass. With the publication this year of Professor Smith's volume, the balance between the social sciences and the humanities has been restored. No doubt the editors of the series have taken some pains to ensure that the quality of each volume has attained a scholarly standard. Unfortunately, this has not always been the case; they have varied as much in scholarship as they have in subject matter, so that there is still reason for concern.

Smith has undertaken an arduous task, one that has confounded other historians. As others have discovered, research in the files of the German Foreign Office, of the *Deutsches Ausland-Institut*, of the *Hauptarchiv der NSDAP*, and others necessitates stripping away a mass of racism, "purity of blood," and the nonsense in which Nazism's official policies and intrigues were often clothed. In this endeavor Smith has not always been successful. The reader with a Central European background and with firsthand knowledge of Nazi methods will be disturbed by the nonchalance with which the "official" ideas of such men as Karl Haushofer and Viktor Wagner are accepted at face value. Throughout the study one feels that exposure to the documents alone—and one cannot but admire the quantity of material scrutinized by Smith in his research—has failed to convey to the author the true nature of the agencies, personages, and events he is studying. The Nazis often conjured up fantasies of their own creation that inhabited a half-real shadow world of part fact and part fiction. The intrigue and power maneuvers, the empire building and duplication of efforts, that went on between members of the Nazi hierarchy permeated all levels, and the struggles for position between the DAI, the VDA, and the AO were no exception.

It must be presumed that such a study as this would enjoy a rather specialized audience, and yet translated passages and passages in the original German appear

seemingly without any real logic. Throughout the study and the extensive footnotes the author switches back and forth from the German original to English renderings inferring a hidden meaning in passages that are in fact devoid of any special significance.

The strength of Smith's work, in my opinion, lies in the painstaking research he has undertaken to collate the materials from the National Archives, the Hoover Institution, and congressional hearings. The work constitutes, however, only a beginning to a lengthier study (or series of studies), which must be written, of the highly complex organization that was to have become a primary tool of Nazi *Deutschtum* in the Western Hemisphere. A study of Nazi Germany, and even of the broader question of totalitarianism, requires further work on the international efforts of extreme nationalism. Despite some mechanical weaknesses, one must applaud this pioneer effort and hope for further studies of this kind.

University of Nevada

HAROLD L. KIRKPATRICK

MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY NATIONALISM. Edited by *William J. Bossenbrook*. [The Franklin Memorial Lectures, Volume XIII.] (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 114. \$3.95.)

THIS book is composed of five lectures given in 1963 on "German Nationalism and Fragmentation" (William J. Bossenbrook), "French Nationalism and Western Unity" (Hans Kohn), "The Problem of National Minorities in the USSR" (Alfred G. Meyer), "Nationalism in South Africa" (Amry Vandenbosch), and "Communism's Impact on African Nationalism" (G. Mennen Williams). As the editor notes, the titles of the lectures seem to indicate that nationalism has not changed since the nineteenth century. But, he argues, nationalism has changed because the "frame" is now global, the power basis is now new weapons controlled by two colossal powers, and men have become increasingly mobile. These developments, in putting "a premium on the unity and uniformity of national self-assertion," have encouraged totalitarianism.

Except for Bossenbrook's own, the lectures do not substantiate his case for change in nationalism, a case for which much evidence can be adduced. Rather they are, as he says, "exercises in historical divination . . . revealing the ambiguities" of the present world. Kohn describes the nationalism of De Gaulle—his "dedicated pursuit of national goals"—and pleads for "an open forward-looking society, based upon diversity and tolerance." Meyer summarizes information on the minorities of the USSR; he adds little to what is known through the work of Pipes and others while he points to the known ambiguities in Soviet policies. Vandenbosch emphasizes the contradictions and strains in Afrikaner nationalism as he predicts the "future is with the Africans because of their numerical superiority." Williams does little more than outline State Department policy on Communism and nationalism in 1963 and exhort his hearers to "meet the challenge."

Bossenbrook's lecture raises provocative questions about the contemporary Germanies. The technological revolution and the defeat and collapse of Nazism brought the end of the "traditional frames of *Staat*, *Volk*, and *Beruf*." The past, therefore, no longer provides direction for power politics, national aspiration, and individual careers. There is only "an everlasting present." Hence the vital ques-

tions may no longer concern union or fragmentation but the kinds and degrees of association. The "vertical axis of technological *ordo* may displace the horizontal and historical drive toward national self-realization."

One should not expect public lectures to add materially to knowledge, but rather to summarize, clarify, and raise questions. The lectures of Kohn, Meyer, and Vandebosch (but not of Williams) meet these reasonable expectations. Bossenbrook's lecture digs deeper, and his own "divinations" about Germany's future could be closer to approaching realities than those of old-fashioned nationalists. Nor should one expect of public lectures treatment of problems that require more than forty or fifty minutes to discuss. Except for Bossenbrook's stress on the role of technology, these lectures do not present new hypotheses. We still await major works of synthesis on twentieth-century nationalism that probe deeply and with the tools and insights of the several social sciences. Are the nationalisms of the mid-twentieth century so different as to be new? The question remains open.

Macalester College

BOYD C. SHAFER

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1961. Selected and edited by D. C. Watt. With the assistance of *John Major et al.* [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xx, 834. \$17.60.)

THE contents of this volume are defensible; the form is not. If an editor wishes to preserve for posterity an official Albanian profession of "love and respect" for "the fraternal people of Yugoslavia and Greece," a United Nations resolution in favor of peace, or a statement by the Secretary of State, "I thought it might be useful if I were to make some comments on the background of the situation in Viet-Nam—that is, not background comments but comments on the background," we can have little argument with him. Statements made for publication have their uses; besides, the more confidential and possibly more revealing archives simply are not open so soon after the event. But the way in which the material of this volume is presented can be recommended as a model only of how not to edit a collection of documents.

Some of the documents are printed in full, others with certain passages deleted, but with no indication of any kind of the principles governing these deletions. Nor does it help to add "extracts" to the headings in some cases and to forget to do so in others. (But what, in any case, is the point of printing an abbreviated version of President Kennedy's inaugural address, whose complete text is so easily available elsewhere?) The footnotes, similarly, are of an almost exemplary inadequacy. More often than not, obscure references in the text go entirely unexplained, which may of course be just as well if one considers the editors' note to a passing mention of Article 16 of the French Constitution, which suggests that the reader look up the *Journal Officiel*. More consistent is the use of footnotes for identifying people in the text; these are entirely absent. The objection may be a minor one since the documents do not abound with proper names, and perhaps it is common knowledge who Mr. Donnelly or Mehmet Shehu are.

Intriguing, too, is the use of languages. Some speeches by De Gaulle and Couve de Murville are cited in French, others in English, again with no indica-

tion of the reasoning behind this, no more than we are told why, if De Gaulle is permitted the use of his native tongue, a similar privilege is not granted to Adenauer, or why an EEC resolution should be printed in French. Perhaps we should be pleased enough just to have found the document, for this is not always an easy matter—thus De Gaulle's television appeal to the French people during the generals' revolt has to be located in the chapter on "France in the Western Mediterranean." In part the search is made easier by a very good chronological list of documents at the end of the volume, but even here the editors manage to put obstacles in the reader's path by suggesting, in the prefatory note, that only documents covering "topics dealt with in more than one section of this volume" are included, which, as it turns out, is quite untrue.

To have an index to this sort of volume might have spoiled the effect, and, wisely, there is none.

University of California, Santa Barbara

JOACHIM REMAK

Ancient and Medieval

BABYLON. By *James G. Macqueen*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. 260. \$6.50.)

No subtitle defines the scope of this book, but its jacket design offers a hint by featuring the superb bronze head that was thought to portray the Akkadian ruler Sargon I who created the first empire in Mesopotamia nearly a half millennium before the city of Babylon rose from obscurity. *Babylon* in fact contrives to give nonspecialists a readable and up-to-date historical survey of civilization in the whole of Babylonia (the lower Mesopotamian lands of Sumer and Akkad) from earliest Sumerian times until A.D. 116 when the Emperor Trajan wintered in the ruins of the once great city of Babylon.

A short book that would gather together the results of the burgeoning monographic studies on ancient Mesopotamia, particularly the early periods through the First Dynasty of Babylon (about 1600 B.C.), has been much needed. Professor Macqueen, lecturer in classics at the University of Bristol, has succeeded in supplying this need only in the area of political history, admittedly his major interest. His valuable, tightly packed survey of "dates, kings and battles, dull though they may sometimes be," is clearly based on a thorough investigation of recently published material. The same cannot be said for his nonpolitical chapters. He justifies this discrepancy on the overly optimistic assumption that good syntheses of Babylonian economic and cultural history already exist. The weakness of this half of the book is made more apparent by occasional passages of a high order such as an excellent one-page précis on Babylonian mathematics.

The book is well written, but the admitted dullness of its meatier part, the political chapters, could have been lessened by a sprinkling of relevant quotations from the sources—together with annotation, a conspicuous lack throughout the volume—and by a greater effort to probe for meaning beneath the surface. A more disconcerting weakness is the author's frequent assumption of unqualified certainty not justified by the available evidence. The book includes three useful

maps, eighteen line drawings, and four appendixes: a note on chronology (the author uses the increasingly favored "middle chronology," for example, 1792-1750 for Hammurabi), chronological tables, time chart, and select bibliography.

Tulane University

NELS M. BAILKEY

DIE MINOISCHE KULTUR DES ALTEN KRETA. By *Fritz Schachermeyr*. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1964. Pp. 366. DM 65.)

HERE is a new, authoritative, general history and archaeology of ancient Crete to add to Hutchinson's published a year earlier. Neither of these new works actually displaces Pendlebury's *Archaeology* (1939) for detailed information in small compass, but the nonspecialist is now welcomed to the subject by the new publications, whereas before they appeared he had to fight his way into it.

Schachermeyr's work is a brilliant piece of synthesis with almost (not quite) every datum in its place, salient points strongly brought out and effectively related to one another. It is, in fact, unquestionably the work of a master even though there are faults.

Religion (Chapter xvii) well exemplifies the mastery. It is one of two long chapters in a book consisting mostly of many short chapters. The argument can be summarized as follows: Cretan religion derived from the early Near Eastern fertility cult in its purest form, free from all admixture of the patriarchalism of the nomads. The chief deity was the great Earth Mother. Subordinately, there was the male deity, born of the Great Mother every spring, becoming her lover, dying in the autumn, passing eternally through this same cycle each year. What gave Cretan religion its special character and profundity, however, was the combination of loving piety toward mother earth as provider of food and of life with awe of her in her character as destroyer through the periodic disastrous earthquakes that manifestly also occurred in her element.

These points are not new, but no previous writer has made either the last or the first as decisively as Schachermeyr makes both. Perhaps the soundness of his doctrine will be questioned, but it is far more likely that the doctrine will be accepted as final. There are probably a number of other important themes in the book of which the same success can be expected.

The other long chapter (xxi) deals with speech and script. With this I am not competent to deal critically. It contains much of Schachermeyr's special knowledge: place names, cultural terms, the ancient Cretan script; and Cretan as the speech of Linear A. Tacked on to Chapter xxiii is a very short treatment of the Linear B texts.

Chapter ii on the character of the land is good as far as it goes. The strong emphasis on volcanism is indeed excellent. That theme, which we have already encountered under religion, is given its place as a keynote in the whole composition in this early chapter. Another scholar, Marinatos, has made his own special contribution to the subject, but Schachermeyr's chapter is absurdly short for so important a book—a mere two pages—and much is missing from it altogether.

Another adverse criticism is of Chapter xxii, "The Minoan Culture as a Civilization." It should be said at once that the chapter deals, and by no means ineffectually, with the largest, most important matter in the book, a matter that no

up-to-date work on a special, self-contained historic cultural configuration could ignore. Unfortunately, Schachermeyr has not used any of the considerable literature that deals with such matters. Thus, as happened also in his *Greek History*, he has written on this subject as an amateur. His positive decision, that Crete had its own independent civilization, is undoubtedly correct, and certain points in his discussion have interest, but it is no longer useful to tackle such a matter on the basis of uninformed intuition alone. It is an irony, however, that even Schachermeyr's treatment of it is better than none since historians *de métier* have for so long avoided it. A serious, fully informed treatment of the subject will soon be forthcoming from Schachermeyr; that is something to be anticipated with interest and confidence.

These two shortcomings, minor and major, notwithstanding, this book is a high achievement. It is what was lacking until now on ancient Crete. About a third of the book is historical by periods and known events, an accomplishment that, since it is based almost entirely on archaeological data, may be compared with other brilliant work done in the last two decades, chiefly by American archaeologists and anthropologists, on the prehistoric Andean civilized society. The rest of Schachermeyr's work consists of special studies, mostly archaeological, some of them novel aspects of the record discerned by the author himself. The work is one for which every scholar concerned, including every kind of specialist, owes gratitude to the gifted and learned author.

Kyoto University

RUSHTON COULBORN

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Number 18. (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University; distrib. by J. J. Augustin, Publisher, Locust Valley, N. Y. 1964. Pp. xv, 365. \$12.00.)

A NUMBER of articles contained in this volume represent revised versions of papers read at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium of 1963. The chairman, Professor H. A. R. Gibb, summarizes the occasion at the end of the volume. George C. Miles writes on Byzantine-Arab relations in Crete and the Aegean area. He reviews the literary evidence for Arab military activities in this region, draws some important conclusions on the internal history of the Muslim emirate of Crete from coins recently discovered, and collects and evaluates the existing archaeological evidence for the presence of Arabs, particularly the Kufic and simulated Kufic ("Kufesque") decoration used in architecture, sculpture, and painting. Marius Canard writes on political, social, and economic relations between the Byzantine and Arab realms down to the eleventh century: exchange of embassies, displacement of individuals or groups, frontier contacts, and commerce. Francesco Gabrieli focuses his attention on Greeks and Arabs in the central Mediterranean area, particularly on Italy and Sicily, and in this connection criticizes once again Pirenne's thesis of Muslim domination over the Mediterranean in the ninth and tenth centuries. He pays tribute to the role of Byzantium in preventing a permanent Arab conquest of Italy and points to the fusion of elements from Byzantine and Arab civilizations in Norman Sicily and Italy. Oleg Grabar's brilliant paper deals primarily with Islamic art and Byzantium, but also discusses important historical

problems: the impact of the Arab conquest on the Byzantine provinces of Syria and Palestine and the relationship of Byzantine and Arab notions of imperial power. He points out that the architectural patterns of Middle Eastern cities formerly under Byzantine rule changed very little during the first centuries of Muslim domination but that in the countryside Ommiad palaces and large, rich, private houses were built on agricultural lands based on a complex and expensive hydraulic system developed in late Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine times. Architecturally, these new Ommiad palaces were revivals of pre-Byzantine architecture, just as the new mosques in the cities resembled the Roman (pre-Byzantine) *temenos*. In the palaces there also developed an Arab iconography of princely power, the themes of which were inspired by Sassanid or Byzantine models. One of Grabar's principal conclusions is that "Byzantine art provided the new culture with a vocabulary and with the rudiments of a grammar, but that the language developed therefrom was a new one." Gustav Von Grunebaum surveys in highly suggestive fashion "Parallelism, Convergence and Influence in the Relations of Arab and Byzantine Philosophy, Literature and Piety." Attitudes toward ancient philosophy, science, and classical poetry separate rather than unite Arabs and Byzantines, and the failure of both to develop a dramatic literature seems attributable to different causes (here Von Grunebaum ignores the strong dramatic element in the Byzantine liturgy and in Byzantine religious poetry). Both cultures show a strong interest for the personality in history, with Muslim historiography excelling in biographical portrayal (he fails to mention the vast hagiographical literature of Byzantium, but has interesting remarks on Byzantine autobiography). The cultural revivals that occurred both in the Byzantine and Arab worlds, in the latter part of the eleventh century, intensified the "parallelism and convergences" of the two societies. They produced a new "realism," the emergence of popular elements in art and literature, a new view of man in his relation to God (both Byzantines and Arabs differ from the West in a more optimistic view of human nature; an excellent discussion), the development of mysticism in both cultures. In spite of this increased convergence between Byzantium and Islam no common mentality developed because, so Von Grunebaum thinks, in the last centuries of its existence the Byzantine world reformulated its basic theological and philosophical outlook in the course of its controversies with the West and thus with a Western, rather than an Eastern, orientation. John Meyendorff writes a useful article on Byzantine views of Islam, musters Byzantine polemical literature, canonical and liturgical texts, official letters and saints' lives, and pays special attention to evidences for Byzantine knowledge of the Koran. Especially interesting is his treatment of an episode occurring in 1178 and showing two different points of view about Islam: an extreme position willing to anathematize the God of Mohammed and a moderate view that left open the possibility that "the God of Muhammad" might be one and the same as the Christian God.

Two articles are devoted to numismatics. Four eminent specialists, including the editor, A. R. Bellinger, supply a catalogue of Dumbarton Oaks' collections of late Roman gold and silver coins from Diocletian to Eugenius, which contain a great number of unique or rare items. Andreas Dikigoropoulos, in an article on the Constantinopolitan *solidi* of Theophilus, discusses the difficult question of the date of Michael III's birth (result: between July 22 and August 13, 838) and other

chronological problems and thus arrives at a new scheme for relating the five types of solidi issued under Theophilus to the general chronology of his reign. E. Cruikshank Dodd considers two stamped silver plates, from the reigns of Justin II and Constans II, which came to her attention after the publication of her book on *Byzantine Silver Stamps*. Much of the volume is devoted to the monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul. In this section, under the general editorship of Cyril Mango, is found a final report on archaeological investigations made in 1929 by Theodore Macridy, but never previously published. This is followed by another archaeological article, by A. H. S. Megaw, which is the fruit of the conservation work initiated by the Byzantine Institute in 1960. Of importance for the historian are the additional notes by Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, which contain valuable information on the founder of the monastery, Constantine Lips (who died in 917), and on the members of the Palaeologan dynasty buried in the church, as well as the text of pre-Christian funerary inscriptions coming from a Roman cemetery in the vicinity of the later church and found in the course of the excavations. The volume also contains a paper by David Pingree on "Gregory Chioniades and Palaeologan Astronomy," a brilliant study by Kurt Weitzmann on an encaustic panel of the seventh century discovered by him, the "Jephthah Panel in the Bema of the Church of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai," and a report by Mango and Hawkins on archaeological work carried out at the Fethiye Camii at Istanbul and at the monastery of St. Chrysostom at Koutsoveni on Cyprus.

University of Michigan

PAUL J. ALEXANDER

H MAKEΔONIA MEXPI TOY ΘANATOY TOY APXELAOY. I. EΞΩΤΕ-
PIKH ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ [Macedonia until the Death of Archelaus. Volume I,
Foreign Policy.] By Dem. Kanatsoules. (Thessalonike: no publisher. 1964.
Pp. 126.)

MR. Dem. Kanatsoules has examined the foreign policy of ancient Macedonia to the death of King Archelaus in 399 B.C. He contends that this period of Macedonian history is difficult to reconstruct in view of the fragmentary sources; furthermore, the period has received relatively little attention from modern scholars. The present volume is a worthy attempt at a systematic examination of the available material.

This study is divided into seven chapters describing Macedonian relations with the Persians in the east, the smaller Macedonian kingdoms in the north, the Illyrians and Thessalians in the northwest and south, and the Athenians and Spartans farther southward. Macedonia, comprising a rather narrow plain touching the northwestern Aegean, developed gradually into an important Greek state. In its territorial development Macedonia's geographic location exposed the nation to outside influences and dangers that nearly disrupted its growth. The Persian defeat in Greece, coupled with Macedonian determination and diplomacy, however, preserved the nation. The Illyrian attacks were predatory raids tending to annoy or harass, while common interests and dangers with the Thessalians helped maintain normal relations between Macedonia and Thessaly. In the case of Athens and Sparta, Macedonia favored a neutral position in their struggle, but economic ne-

cessity and political and military pressures compelled it to cultivate the Athenian alliance.

Although the author has not discovered any important new sources, he has read widely in the available literature and shows familiarity with his subject. He discusses the wide synthesis of conclusions, most of them familiar, injecting his own interpretations. Briefly, Kanatsoules has critically evaluated foreign affairs and suggests its objectives, frustrations, and achievements.

The format of the book is not standard; the bibliography is at the beginning, and the table of contents is at the end, following the index. Many interesting and debatable points have been documented, but some inaccuracies in the footnotes tend to confuse the reader. It is to be hoped that Kanatsoules' second volume on Macedonia's internal history will be proofread.

University of Kentucky

WILLIAM P. KALDIS

GAULOIS ET FRANCS: DE VERCINGÉTORIX À CHARLEMAGNE. By Robert Latouche. [Bibliothèque historique.] ([Grenoble:] Arthaud. 1965. Pp. 388. Cloth 48 fr., paper 38 fr.)

ROBERT Latouche is living proof of the thesis that French scholars, especially medievalists, become truly productive only after attaining their seventieth year, for in the fourteen years since reaching that point he has published a steady stream of works, *Gaulois et Francs* being the latest to appear. In it Latouche is seeking to trace the social history of what later became France from the eve of the Roman conquest to the formation, in 843, of Charles the Bald's West Frankish kingdom. This fact might suggest that *Gaulois et Francs* was intended as a companion study to *The Birth of Western Economy*, Latouche's scholarly analysis of economic development in the early Middle Ages, but such is not the case. It is, rather, a predecessor of his popularly written *Film de l'histoire médiévale en France* which takes the story from the Treaty of Verdun to the Hundred Years' War.

He is here particularly concerned with the social and cultural impact of the Romans on the Gauls and, in turn, with that of the Franks on the Gallo-Romans. His evidence is exclusively literary, and his method of presentation is largely that of long quotations from the sources, bridged by short paragraphs of his own analysis. As a result, some students may find this work an excellent introduction to the literary materials at our disposal. Others, however, may have reservations. Most contemporary literature was not consciously directed at the problems of social change and cultural interpenetration, and because Latouche relies so heavily on it, the consequence is a presentation slightly at variance with his real purpose. This weakness is more apparent because the book is profusely illustrated with two hundred photographs of art work from the period, pictures whose mute testimony reveals more about cultural change than any amount of literary evidence alone could suggest. Nevertheless, while it is regrettable that Latouche did not choose to make use of nonwritten sources in his text, this defect is probably minor and excusable in a work of popular history. One still hopes, however, that he will return to more serious studies, for in the years following the publication of his first book in 1910 the scholarly world has come to appreciate the value of his learning and wisdom.

Dartmouth College

CHARLES T. WOOD

TRENDS IN MEDIEVAL POLITICAL THOUGHT: ESSAYS. By P. R. L. Brown *et al.* Edited with introduction by Beryl Smalley. (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell. 1965. Pp. xii, 139. 25s.)

DESIGNED, it seems safe to assume, as one more attempt to bridge the medieval gap in the political science requirements for undergraduates in the Honours School of Modern History at Oxford, this volume consists of lectures delivered in 1963 by seven Oxford dons and concerned, respectively, with St. Augustine, Carolingian monarchical theories, polemics of the Gregorian era, medieval political Aristotelianism, Marsilius of Padua and Dante, the postglossators, and the conciliarists. Though they are lectures, they do not always show much sign of having been written with oral delivery in mind, but they read quite well, and most of them are workmanlike, scholarly contributions.

It will not surprise those familiar with the work of Professor Wallace-Hadrill if I single out his chapter on "The *Via Regia* of the Carolingian Age" as probably the most satisfactory piece in the book. At the other end of the scale, the Reverend T. M. Parker's essay, "The Conciliar Movement," is easily the most disappointing (Figgis misunderstood?). Of the others, M. H. Keen's discussion of "The Political Thought of the Fourteenth-Century Civilians" is especially valuable as one of the very few short introductions to this important topic available in English.

One general criticism is in order. Given the remoteness and complexity of medieval modes of thought and the inaccessibility of the sources to most of those whose primary concern is with the enduring problems of political theory, any new attempt to effect a short and relatively painless introduction to the medieval contribution is likely to prove popular, especially among hard-pressed teachers of courses in the history of political thought. It may be doubted, however, if this is the book they need. In the introduction Miss Smalley tells us that the contributors to the volume "are all historians by training, who see political theories as an aspect of history." By this she seems to mean that their interests lie in the history of the particular period they discuss rather than in the problems or even in the history of political theory in general. She need not have drawn our attention to the fact. It shows, above all, in the narrowness of perspective that leads some of them to suggest that the Carlyles and Figgis "exaggerated the significance of resistance theories in medieval thought." Perhaps so. But one cannot help suspecting that Figgis and the Carlyles, even if confronted with the up-to-date and collective *expertise* of the present volume, would still choose to emphasize the importance of those resistance theories. And they would be correct to do so.

In a world dominated throughout the greater part of its history by political theories and ideologies of a totalitarian mold, the ultimate medieval insistence that the polis was in essence a merely secular organism, that the authority of government was limited, and that force itself should not be rejected as a means to ensure that limitation was a truly momentous departure. If we hear little of this from the contributors to the present volume it is, no doubt, because their primary concern is with their own scholarly specialties. But, precisely because of this, the older and very individual labors of Figgis and the Carlyles, distinguished as they are by a breadth of vision more truly commensurate with the scope of the subject, suffer surprisingly little from comparison.

Williams College

FRANCIS OAKLEY

LA JUSTICE SEIGNEURIALE DE L'ABBAYE DE SAINT AMAND: SON ORGANISATION JUDICIAIRE, SA PROCÉDURE ET SA COMPÉTENCE DU XI^e AU XVI^e SIÈCLE. By *Henri Platelle*. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Number 41.] (Louvain: Bureaux de la R.H.E.; distrib. by Éditions Nauwelaerts, Louvain. 1965. Pp. 462. 390 fr. B.)

A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY chronicler remarked that Saint-Amand was "the noblest and most beautiful abbey" to be found between the Seine and the Rhine. The monks of Saint-Denis, especially, and those of other monastic foundations might have contested this assertion, but even they would have recognized hyperbole as proper and permissible in these circumstances. After reading this long, well-organized, scholarly monograph, one has little doubt of the intrinsic importance of the community and the abbey it examines. This is not a first work dealing with Saint-Amand, for Professor Platelle had already prepared the basis for his study in previous publications. The most recent and most elaborate of these is his *Le Temporel de l'Abbaye de Saint-Amand des origines à 1340* (1962).

Here Platelle has met the challenge of François Ganshof's contention that Flemish seignorial institutions have not been widely studied. Even though focusing attention primarily on judicial and legal institutions and excluding other items of feudal practice that have close affiliation with these, the results of the author's investigations are extraordinarily rich and rewarding. He notes, and we must agree, that the evidence for the early years is too often annoyingly sparse and spotty, but we are so often faced with similar situations for the history of the entire period that this comes as no surprise. What evidence he has been able to gather from published and unpublished sources is used with discrimination.

During the epoch of reform under Richard of Saint-Vanne in the early eleventh century the seignury of Saint-Amand reached its definitive limits and retained surprising stability during the long period to the end of the old regime. The possibility of great complexity as characteristic of its history is obvious when its geographical and political position is consciously noted. Though even in the later Middle Ages it possessed many attributes of the frontier community in a society that could not abandon completely feudal modes of thought, Saint-Amand was coveted by Flemish counts, diocesans of Tournai, authorities of Lille, lords of the Hainaut, and after 1297 by French monarchs, until it was seized by the Emperor Charles V in 1521.

Platelle has divided his study into two sections of sixteen chapters, devoting almost equal space to the period when the Flemish counts were, in person or through their lieutenants, *advocati* of the abbey and the subsequent period of French monarchical domination in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. To illustrate by reference to only one chapter in the first part, we learn of the persistence of Carolingian codes and practices that endured in a later feudal world. There we encounter still tribunals that heard general pleas three times a year, note the appearance of a feudal court, the continuity of the *échevins*, the role of the *advocatus*, that of the lay provost and of his monastic counterpart. The author carefully warns against explaining tendencies that seem to indicate on superficial observation novelties that are nothing more than old practices that had been used for several centuries or more as part of the communal developments of the

eleventh century. Only a perfunctory and superficial indication of the richness of this volume can be given in a review restricted by limits of space. All students of feudal institutions will welcome and recognize the merits of this exemplary work.

Northwestern University

GRAY C. BOYCE

SETTLEMENT AND SOCIETY: A STUDY OF THE EARLY AGRARIAN HISTORY OF SOUTH LINCOLNSHIRE. By *H. E. Hallam*. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xx, 277. \$11.50.)

In this essentially descriptive, rather than analytical, work, the author provides a massive documentation of the agrarian and social history of the low-lying area round the northern and western shores of the Wash in the period 1086 (Domesday Book, his earliest source of quantitative information), to about 1250. Making full use of monastic chartularies, manorial extents, chronicles, and a variety of other sources, he brings together almost all the available information about the building of dikes and drains that made possible the extensive reclamation from fen and sea of these years. This is the nub of the book. On climate and sea floods, on fenland field systems, land use, social structure, and demography the author has much to say, but not a great deal that is specially new and significant, certainly not enough to justify the extravagant claim made by Professor Postan in the preface that "Dr. Hallam has made much of medieval economic history more intelligible." He has not. But, on reclamation, to which the whole of the first half of the book is devoted, he has made an important contribution to knowledge. Even here, though, he has his limitations. Above all, the question of what happened after 1300 is left unanswered.

For an elaborate topographical study such as this the maps are curiously inadequate. Though personally familiar with much of the area discussed, I found the book incomprehensible without the relevant one inch to one mile Ordnance Survey maps. The author makes no concessions to the lay reader. A nonspecialist may know what "assart" and "sokeland" are, but how about "offoldfal," "sykes," "selions," "stong," and "shift ing"? Some of these words are explained in text or notes, but there is no glossary. In spite of the technicalities, there is something amateurish about this book. The elaborate index (seventy-two references to "meadow") has no entry under "rain," but this may be found under the heading "heavy." The author is at home with charters, but not with the chroniclers. He comments on the large number of rainy years recorded by the chroniclers in the first half of the thirteenth century and their paucity in the second half of the century, forgetting that this is simply due to the termination of Matthew Paris' chronicle, with its uniquely detailed annual meteorologic report, in 1259. He appears to be unaware of Paris' authorship of the *Flores historiarum*.

Prospective clients of the Cambridge University Press may do well to note that four years apparently elapsed between the completion of the manuscript and the publication of this book. Finally, readers of this journal ought perhaps to be warned that, for Hallam, *AHR* stands for *Agricultural History Review*.

University of Hull

RICHARD VAUGHAN

EADMER'S HISTORY OF RECENT EVENTS IN ENGLAND (*HISTORIA NOVORUM IN ANGLIA*). Translated from the Latin by *Geoffrey Bosanquet*. With a foreword by *R. W. Southern*. (Philadelphia: Dufour. 1965. Pp. xv, 240. \$6.95.)

FOUR of the six books in the *Historia Novorum* by Eadmer (Edmer) are now available in a complete English translation. These four books, which pertain to Archbishop Anselm's pontificate, 1093-1109, represent the original work. They are a most important source for the history of the investiture quarrel in early twelfth-century England, as well as for Canterbury's claims to primacy over York. In defending Anselm's permission for Matilda, daughter of King Malcolm of Scotland, to marry Henry I of England, Eadmer also touches upon a political topic that had constitutional repercussions during the reign of King Stephen. Yet, readers familiar with such recent studies on Anselm as Norman Cantor's and R. W. Southern's will be aware that the *Historia's* value is partially undermined by Eadmer's Gregorian bias and his misrepresentation of Canterbury's case against York.

This translation is based upon the best printed Latin text, M. Rule's edition for the Rolls Series (*Eadmeri Historia Novorum In Anglia Et Opuscula Duo De Vita Sancti Anselmi Et Miraculis Ejus* [1884]). The best of the two extant manuscripts, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 452, formed the basis of Rule's text; sample comparisons of Rule's text that I made with it revealed only minor discrepancies. Bosanquet's text has an adequate index, but absence of critical apparatus will limit its scholarly use. A critical, bilingual edition of the *Historia* is still needed.

Such observations are not meant to gainsay this work's lasting value for the general reader or Bosanquet's fine achievement. His translation makes Eadmer's Anselm live. Bosanquet's strong, idiomatic English is a delight to read; with few exceptions, its clear and simple style sustains just the quality of dramatic tension Anselm's apologist intended. There are few errors. The translation of "sovereignty" from "dominium" in several places is anachronistic. The date of Pascal II's letter to Archbishop William of Rouen should read March 28, not March 25. Finally, Southern's remark in his foreword that the *Historia Novorum* "was unknown in the Middle Ages to all except the monks of Canterbury" could stand qualification. The influence of Eadmer's work upon William of Malmesbury in some form is indicated by the latter's references in his *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum*. Indeed, the methodological influence of the one's *Historia Novorum* upon the other's *Historia Novella* is worth pondering.

University of South Carolina

ROBERT B. PATTERSON

OM PAVE EUGENIUS III'S VERNEBREV FOR MUNKELIV KLOSTER AV 7. JANUARY 1146. By *Arne Odd Johnsen*. [Avhandlingar utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. Ny Serie. Number 7.] (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. 1965. Pp. 55. N. kr. 8.50.)

THIS is another in the series of studies that the author has published concerning Norwegian convents and cloisters in the Middle Ages. The Letter of Protection is

dissected, compared to later similar documents for Norwegian foundations, and each of its sections is studied in terms of the formulas used in simultaneous products of the papal secretariat. The letter, the first in point of time to Norway that has survived, is not referred to in other documents issued within the next generation and has two or three readings that Giry has referred to the fourteenth rather than the twelfth century. Johnsen shows that letters to England and Germany employ these phrases earlier than Giry's examples and that the document must be accepted as genuine.

He unravels the circumstantial tangle surrounding the plea for it by the Norwegian Benedictine convent and shows that it accomplished two aims of those who sought it. In the first place, it gave added security against royal interference, which had occurred most forcibly in nearby instances with disastrous effect, and it also guaranteed to Munkeliv a continuance as a strictly Benedictine foundation, at a time when the rising emotional tide in Western monasticism was either founding new Cistercian monasteries or, in many instances, transforming earlier Benedictine houses to Cistercian ones. The expression is clear, the scholarship meticulous, the contribution minor but valuable.

University of Southern California

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN

THE VINLAND MAP AND THE TARTAR RELATION. By *R. A. Skelton et al.* With a foreword by *Alexander O. Viator*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 291. \$15.00.)

WHEN this volume appeared in the fall of 1965, it created a furor reminiscent of that generated upon Columbus' return in 1493 from his first voyage of discovery. While questions were answered by each enterprise, more were raised. The map and relation were acquired by the antiquarian bookseller Laurence Witten, of New Haven, from a "private collection in Europe." At this point Thomas E. Marston, by chance, acquired for the Yale Library a manuscript portion of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*. Witten borrowed this manuscript and noted that its handwriting, watermarks, and wormholes indicated it to have been originally bound with the Vinland Map and Tartar Relation. The stage was thus set for the present elaborate analysis. Marston's careful discussion supports the authenticity of the manuscripts and concludes that they were prepared in the Upper Rhineland about the middle of the fifteenth century, perhaps during the Council of Basel, which lasted from 1431 to 1449.

The scholarly acumen applied to the many problems posed by the Vinland Map and Tartar Relation is impressive. George D. Painter's editing of the Tartar Relation, finished in 1247 by the Franciscan friar, C. de Bridia, is exhaustive, impeccable, and authoritative. The narrative, which provides an independent primary source on the Carpini Mission to Central Asia in 1245-1247, is reproduced in facsimile, as well as printed in its original Latin with a parallel English translation. The analysis of the accompanying world map (showing the "Island" of Vinland), by Painter's colleague in the British Museum, R. A. Skelton, is similarly painstaking and learned. Every squiggle in the outline of lands depicted on the map, every word of its captions, and every possible source of its creation are discussed and evaluated. Since so much of the analysis is by necessity speculative, it is impossible

to speak with assurance about alternative views. The fact that other interpretations are possible is made explicit in Painter's "second opinion" on the Vinland Map, offered "without controversial intention," as a supplement to Skelton's fuller analysis. Space does not allow detailed consideration of the major points at issue, but concerning all of them—specifically Painter's belief in the possibility of an original model not drawn exclusively from an Andrea Bianco-type map, his belief that the *Magnum mare Tartarorum* is not an interpretation of the Caspian Sea as a gulf of the northern ocean, his defense of the possibility that the Vinland Map and the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century maps of Sigurdur Stefánsson and Bishop Resen have a common origin, and his assertion of the possibility of a twelfth-century Norse settlement in America by implication from the voyage of Bishop Eirik Gnupsson—his arguments seem to me more soundly based and imaginatively reasoned than Skelton's. It is to the credit of Alexander Viator and Skelton that Painter was encouraged to present his views, despite their divergence from Skelton's own.

Of perhaps as much interest as the scholarly achievement itself is the way it was brought to the attention of the scholarly world. Marked by the tightest secrecy in its preparatory stages, the book was released the day before Columbus Day with a public relations efficiency not usually achieved by university presses. The outcry from Italian-American groups against what they considered the implied denigration of Columbus and the outpouring of misinformed commentary by those who imagined the map to be the first proof that the Vikings discovered America before Columbus are an amusing commentary on the foibles of a history-conscious public. Even scholarly reviews have been affected by the publicity and secrecy, with reviewers sometimes attacking the public reaction to the book rather than the book itself, and sometimes betraying annoyance at their exclusion from the knowledge granted to the authors in the prepublication period. A more significant aspect of the fracas is the demonstration it gives of the public's evaluation of the importance of graphic evidence in comparison with literary evidence in establishing the Norse presence in America. Though the depiction of Vinland is, in Painter's words, little more than "a generalized and degenerate simplification of the saga narratives," it now, in the public mind, takes on enormously greater importance than the well-known sources from which it was largely derived.

As Viator points out in his introduction, the book is "a preliminary work" and "a springboard for further investigation." Already scholars around the world have taken up the challenge. Preliminary attacks upon the authenticity of the map itself, by scholars as eminent as E. G. R. Taylor and G. R. Crone, have appeared. A final evaluation must await the outcome of the scholarly controversy now being joined. Nevertheless, a gigantic first step has been taken and a solid foundation laid for the debate, from which the study of the history of cartography will surely emerge renewed and invigorated.

Smithsonian Institution

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

DIE LEHRE VON DEN UMSTÄNDEN DER MENSCHLICHEN HAND-
LUNG IM MITTELALTER. By *Johannes Gründel*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte

der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. Volume XXXIX, Number 5.] (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1963. Pp. li, 680. DM 84.)

IMPRESSIVELY substantial, this study explores in its historical setting a problem that concerns the modern philosopher and theologian as well as his medieval predecessors: the role of circumstances in determining the moral value of human actions.

Dr. Gründel's own perspective is clear from the start; it is that of a moderate Catholic moral theology, seeking to avoid both an outmoded legalistic casuistry and what appears as the relativism and subjectivism of modern existential ethics, with its emphasis on "situation" as the determining factor in human action. Between these extremes, he believes, a reliable middle way is offered by the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, for whom man's reason was the criterion of the morally good act and the basis of his essential freedom in the choice of good and evil. But Gründel has done far more than to expound the demonstrable merits of the great Dominican's moral teaching. He has assembled and examined an immense body of materials relating to the evolution of theories of circumstances from antiquity to the Age of Aquinas. Although his findings are presented as a well-ordered series of "source-analyses," the lines of thematic development are carefully gathered together at the end of each chapter, and a final historical summary provides a lucid map of the long road traversed here. It begins with the classical rhetoricians who bequeathed to later thinkers, along with the often repeated topics, *quis, quid, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando*, a concept of circumstances as embracing all that leads to the full knowledge and valid judgment of an action. Much the longest part (at least five-sixths) of this study, however, is devoted to the theologians and canonists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, both the more and the less eminent individuals and groups, whose relevant works are meticulously scrutinized. This emphasis is just, for Christian speculation on the problem of circumstances had its beginning in the deepening and enrichment of theological inquiry that began with Anselm of Canterbury and his contemporaries. Here interest began to shift from the sin to the sinner, from the problems involved in assessing the responsibility for sin, dominant in the early medieval penitentials, to the much more profound question of what constitutes the essence of a moral action and what is only incidental to it. How this question was debated by Abelard, who answered it most radically by insisting on intention as the sole criterion of moral value, and his successors, who gradually evolved more positive conceptions of the ethical significance of circumstances, is the heart of Gründel's inquiry. He shows us how their discussions were influenced by the rapidly developing theology of the sacrament of penance, by the impact of Aristotle's ethics, and by the rise of the mendicant orders, which produced the most notable theorists on this problem and the most prolific authors of those manuals which answered the practical needs of confessors and penitents. In the confessional, learned speculation and the complex problems of individual consciences, theories of circumstances and their practical applications, met most directly.

Though students of social and religious history may wish that Gründel had examined the implications of these encounters more fully, both they and specialists in medieval thought will be grateful to him for examining for the first time an

important area of medieval ethics and moral theology. They will be especially grateful for his exploitation of unpublished materials: more than three hundred manuscripts are cited here, often at considerable and illuminating length.

Millbrook, New York

MARY M. McLAUGHLIN

MAGNA CARTA. By J. C. Holt. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 377. \$11.50.)

MAGNA CARTA AND ITS INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD TODAY. By Sir Ivor Jennings. [Prepared for British Information Services by the Central Office of Information.] ([London:] H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1965. Pp. 43. 75 cents postpaid.)

THESE timely volumes, both designed to commemorate the 750th anniversary of Magna Carta, are very dissimilar. The first is a detailed treatise, apparently intended to supersede that of McKechnie; the second is little more than a learned pamphlet, addressed to a wide audience. The one is by a historian who deliberately departs from the legal interpretation; the other is by a lawyer who stresses the influence of the Charter on law. The one concentrates attention on the period 1199-1225; the other brings the survey of the Charter and its consequences down to the present time and has much to say of its importance in relation to Parliament, to the American Declaration of Independence, and to the Commonwealth.

Sir Ivor Jennings, if we may take the shorter work first, probably exaggerates the direct influence of Caps. 17 and 24 of King John's Magna Carta on the common law; the later independence of the judiciary in England was the result of a much more complex process than is here suggested. Nevertheless, it is impossible to exaggerate the ultimate importance of the affirmation in 1215, at least by implication, that even the king was under the law. Similarly, the connection between Magna Carta and Parliament is hard to establish. On the other hand, a discussion of it is still important, though it is going too far to say that the *Confirmatio Cartarum* of 1297 required that no aid *or duty* be raised without the common assent of the whole realm.

Professor Holt's purpose is at once more and less ambitious. He provides a detailed study of the Charter of 1215 and its reissues, in the context of the politics, administration, and political thought of England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but he does not provide a set discussion of their place in the history of English law and liberty. The reign of John was, indeed, an age of decision. Government power had grown impressively, without commensurate growth in the contribution of the community to political life. Feudal methods were no longer adequate to preserve feudal cooperation between the king and his magnates; other methods were extremely difficult to provide. This challenge confronted Englishmen after the great Angevin work of expansion. It appears in Holt's work, but hardly with the clarity and emphasis that its importance requires.

Nor is the significance of the baronial accomplishment really brought out, in spite of Holt's impressive details. Indeed, it is partly obscured by his poor opinion of the barons themselves. They did not act, he believes, from conscious determination; their minds had been "conditioned." They were not unintelligent, but they

were nevertheless "blinkerred." On the other hand, they managed to see the whole process leading to Magna Carta, though they could not see when or how it would end, which was no mean feat in itself. The importance of the baronial community of the realm is recognized; but because it was dominated by great baronial families Holt argues that even this was "ill-formed." He is quite unappreciative of baronial experiences in the exercise of responsibilities for the welfare of the realm, for example in 1191-1194 or 1216-1227.

Unlike Jennings, Holt makes little effort to trace later attempts to develop the restraints upon the ruler prescribed in 1215 into a more sophisticated limitation of rule through Parliament. Perhaps no treatment could include within one volume the whole scope and content of the sequel to the Charter; it is, however, a pity that Holt, pre-eminently qualified to do justice to this topic, has so restricted his aim. Apart from this conspicuous limitation, his mastery of the subject is admirable. The book will be invaluable for all future studies of the Charter. We are given a helpful list of references, but it does not replace a bibliography. Jennings, the lawyer, and not Holt, the historian, better expresses the perspectives of history; but between them the two volumes worthily commemorate an episode that for 750 years has left its mark on English constitutional development and affected innumerable lives.

University of Toronto

B. WILKINSON

EDWARD III AND THE SCOTS: THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF A MILITARY CAREER, 1327-1335. By *Ranald Nicholson*. [Oxford Historical Series, Second Series.] ([New York:] Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 285. \$4.80.)

In his introduction Dr. Nicholson states that in selecting a restricted period of Edward III's reign for the study of the formative years of a military career he wishes to consider not only the course of the Anglo-Scottish wars but also the influence of these wars on political, social, and economic developments and the reaction of these factors upon the course of the war itself.

Basing his study on contemporary sources, including both records and chronicles, printed or manuscript, the author presents in great detail the developments of the Anglo-Scottish conflict from 1327 to 1335, covering the recruitment, equipment, and financing of the armed forces, the royal propaganda, the strategy and tactics of the campaigns, diplomatic negotiations, including those with the French, the conflicting claims of Bruce and Baliol, the role of the disinherited, and the terms of the various truces or peace settlements. One of the interesting facts that emerges from this mass of detail is the use by the English at Dupplin and Halidon of the tactics, so successful later at Crécy and Poitiers, of fighting a defensive action on foot and using their archers with deadly effect. The attempted use of sea power to support the land campaigns is also carefully brought out. In 1335 Moray's victory at Culblean marked the turning point of the wars; after this, in Nicholson's opinion, the struggle was no longer a Scottish civil war but "a national war between England and a kingdom ravaged and anarchic, but increasingly united in sentiment."

Seven helpful maps are included in the text, and significant information on

the armed forces for the campaign of 1335 is presented in appendixes. The volume concludes with a helpful bibliographical note on secondary works and on the sources, a select bibliography of books, articles, and source materials, and a useful index. In trying to show the interrelation of military events and political, social, and economic developments the author is not entirely successful, possibly because the reader tends to be overwhelmed by the military detail. This scholarly volume does, however, achieve one of its purposes: "to provide a little of the information" whereby the thesis that Edward III through his wars and propaganda "turned a feudal kingdom into a nation" might be supported or refuted.

Western College for Women

ISABEL R. ABBOTT

THE COMMONS AND THEIR SPEAKERS IN ENGLISH PARLIAMENTS, 1376-1523. By J. S. Roskell. ([Manchester:] Manchester University Press; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1965. Pp. ix, 390. \$9.50.)

ROSKELL has combed the Rolls of the Parliaments and countless other records for facts about the history of the medieval Commons and their Speakers. Unfortunately, much of the evidence is "maddeningly fragmentary and tantalizingly indecisive," but he has sought, found, and presented all that is likely to be known about the Speakers. Part I (over 100 pages) analyzes the origin of the office, the Speaker's election, his functions and rewards. Part II (over 250 pages) follows with accounts of just what went on at each of the Parliaments, seriatim, from 1376 to 1523, and with biographies of the incumbents from Sir Peter de la Mare, "the earliest known Speaker," to Sir Thomas More, the first man to be Speaker of the lower house and then of the upper. Roskell anticipated objections to giving "too much of the political and parliamentary background," and so he gave his answer in advance: "most of the Speakers were important as men of affairs, involved in the practice of royal government and administration, implicated in politics, and . . . high matters of State." The only reply to this argument is *chacun à son goût*—with a hope that the taste of many may relish 371 pages about Speakers with "the details of their careers" and "a running commentary on political events." Actually, Roskell's analysis and his convincing conclusions, with supporting argument and evidence, might have been presented in about a hundred pages, and they would have made a little classic. Then, his findings and useful observations about the Speakers and their *mise en scène*, the House of Commons, would have stood out clearly.

Most Speakers were royal retainers, some belonged to the king's household, others to his Council, and many were lawyers. The important thing was for the Commons to choose one of their number known to enjoy "the King's confidence and good-will." Most of them had sat in previous Parliaments, but nine of them had not. Only twice under the Tudors did a Speaker preside over the next House of Commons, "and not until the Hanoverians" did re-election become customary. The Speaker was usually "actively involved in politics, and all were partisans to some extent"; thus the office had not yet become that of impartial moderator into which Sir Arthur Onslow, Speaker from 1728 to 1761, was to make it.

Despite the mass of detail that this book contains, the kind of evidence with

which to answer some of Roskell's penetrating questions is lacking. "We know nothing of how *in detail* the Speaker did his work in the Commons' own House during the period under review." Yet Roskell has succeeded in setting out many data for which other researchers, for whom the book seems written, will long be grateful. He writes with the authority of the master that he is of fifteenth-century Parliaments, and it is heartening to read that Richard II's deposition was accomplished "not by parliament but by the 'estates of the realm' . . ." Roskell's conclusions are truly significant for the history of Parliament, but they might have been presented with greater clarity by avoiding repetition and by using fewer involved and endless sentences. However, Roskell has told, once and for all, all that is likely to be found out about the medieval Speaker and, happily, perhaps a little more. For he boldly sets forth conjectures based on his familiarity with the House of Commons and the habits of its members. These suggestions, made to bridge many a gap where evidence is lacking, seem not just likely, but highly probable.

Yale University

WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.

SPÄTLESE DES MITTELALTERS. Volume II, RELIGIÖSES SCHRIFTTUM.

Edited by *Wolfgang Stammer*. [Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Number 19.] (Bielefeld: Erich Schmidt Verlag. 1965. Pp. 167. DM 16.80.)

THIS work is exactly what the title says it is: readings in the late Middle Ages. The first part is divided into several sections, such as "The Bible," "Dogmatics," "Prayer," "Edifying Discourses," "Allegory," and "Symbol," and the topics are illustrated by short selections of texts. The remainder is devoted to a detailed scholarly commentary on the text.

The text contains no important document of intrinsic value. Several selections are mere translations from the Latin into the Middle High German, such as the translations of a part of the tenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; I Cor. 13; and the Apostles' Creed. Of some interest is the translation of Jean Gerson's letter to his sisters, the original of which, however, is available elsewhere. Being what it is, a miscellaneous collection of various unimportant German texts from the late Middle Ages, the book cannot be said to have much interest or value for anyone but a highly specialized scholar.

Claremont, California

MATTHEW SPINKA

L'ÉGLISE AU TEMPS DU GRAND SCHISME ET DE LA CRISE CONCILIAIRE (1378-1449). In two parts. By *E. Delaruelle et al.* [Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, Volume XIV.] (Paris: Bloud & Gay; distrib. by Desclée & Cie, Tournai. 1962; 1964. Pp. xix, 455; 460-1231. 35 fr.; 56 fr.)

THESE volumes constitute one of the most distinguished contributions to a series whose quality has been, with a few exceptions, remarkably high. They are successful at once in supplying a clear and comprehensive narrative of an unusually complex period in the history of the Western Church, and in providing a rich

and sensitive account of religious thought and life. At the same time their authors are constantly aware of the broader social and political environment in which ecclesiastical and religious history unfolded, and they manage to convert an account of particular institutional developments and of the changing European religious consciousness into a kind of distillation of the total historical experience of an age. This work is often closer to the tradition of Huizinga than to conventional ecclesiastical history, although with a firmer sense of development from generation to generation. Furthermore, all this has been accomplished without any sacrifice of those qualities that have made the entire series so valuable as works of reference. The reader will find again that carefully articulated intellectual architecture which characterizes French scholarship at its best, making the particular elements in a discussion so easy to identify, and the bibliographies both of sources and of secondary works, the latter often accompanied by critical notes, are superb.

The reader should not, of course, expect major novelties of interpretation in a work of this kind, and its mild disapproval of conciliarism, although the subject is treated with respect, is perhaps also predictable. The authors of these volumes are clear that the important constitutional struggles precipitated by the Great Schism were not accompanied by any general crisis of belief. The reform pressures released by the conciliar movement depended, in this view, on a superficial analysis of the Church's problems. It was not papal intervention that was responsible for the difficulties of the period, the authors argue with considerable force, but the breakdown of the beneficial system, a consequence of the general economic and political difficulties of the later Middle Ages. Thus the demand for reform *in capite* hardly touched on the essential element in the predicament of the institutional Church, and at the same time it tended to obscure the many positive elements in the spiritual life of the age; the common view of this period as one of religious decadence rests on a dubious conception of the preceding age as characterized by great fervor. But although this work gives full credit to the regenerative power of mysticism and humanism, it is sufficiently balanced to emphasize also the formalistic and external elements in the piety of this age, qualities that suggest the waning of medieval culture rather than preparation for the reformations of the sixteenth century.

These volumes also reveal the influence of recent currents of thought associated with ecumenism and *aggiornamento*. They avoid the familiar tendency, which has long distorted our understanding of medieval culture, to regard Thomism as normative for Catholic thought. They stress the clericalism of the age and implicitly criticize it by their attention to the religious needs and activities of the laity. They are critical of the Church's concentration, at the highest levels, on government through the "papal system" to the detriment of the cure of souls. Their treatment of heresy is notably gentle; Huss, for example, turns out to have been largely misunderstood and victimized by men whose ecclesiology was rather more suspect than his own. The influence of such attitudes also results in some exaggeration of the significance of the Council of Florence, which is celebrated here as the first genuinely universal council since antiquity. But the general tone of the work is notably open and flexible; it recognizes, for example, the relatively recent origins of the notion of tradition

as an independent source of Catholic belief. This is Church history admirably suited to the needs of the general historian.

University of California, Berkeley

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

LE DOMAINE DU ROI ET LES FINANCES EXTRAORDINAIRES SOUS CHARLES VI, 1388-1413. By *Maurice Rey*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1965. Pp. 447.)
LES FINANCES ROYALES SOUS CHARLES VI: LES CAUSES DU DÉFICIT, 1388-1413. By *Maurice Rey*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1965. Pp. 685.)

THESE two books are not easy to read, but they will prove extremely valuable to students of the later Middle Ages. They are based on a thorough and intelligent examination of the financial documents that have survived for the period 1388-1413—and more have survived than earlier generations of scholars realized. They show us exactly how the French government carried on its financial business at the end of the fourteenth century.

For the specialist there is a mass of interesting detail. All sources of income are described. The relationships among existing financial offices are discussed, and the development of new bureaus or subbureaus is explained. There are many brief sketches of the careers of important (or even fairly unimportant) officials. And, what is especially helpful, whenever it was reasonably possible to give exact or approximate figures for certain types of incomes and expenditures, Mr. Rey drew up tables that demonstrate trends and make comparisons easy.

The books also illuminate the broader problem that has troubled all students of the period: why, after their great successes of the thirteenth century, did central governments perform so poorly in the fourteenth century? Most of the essential administrative techniques had been learned; there were large groups of well-trained bureaucrats; revenues should have been adequate. But the French government became less, rather than more, effective as the century progressed.

Rey's answer is given with special clarity in the second volume. The government had the authority and the knowledge to do better, but the people who controlled the government lacked a sense of responsibility. Everyone belonged to a special interest group (and usually to more than one)—town oligarchies, princely households, corporations of government officials—and everyone wanted to channel the income of the state toward his group (or groups), and within his group toward himself. The state was a useful device for redistributing the wealth, and no one wanted to destroy it, but relatively few people wanted to use its power for the general welfare. The princes of the royal family were the worst offenders, but everyone with any kind of influence sought gifts, pensions, and exemptions from taxation. Probably half the royal revenue was wasted, or at least spent on projects of dubious value.

The great difference between the late thirteenth and the late fourteenth centuries was that the privileged classes had found that they could gain more by using the state than by opposing it. This is why it is wrong to speak of the "new feudalism." Even so great a lord as the Duke of Burgundy depended on royal grants for the larger part of his income, and he would have been

ruined if fourteenth-century France had fragmented as the ninth-century Carolingian Empire did. He and his fellows wanted a central government that was strong enough to fleece the weak and weak enough to placate the strong. When this happy result was achieved, soon after 1400, the natural consequences were a growing deficit, military weakness, and the victories of Henry V.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RHINE PALATINATE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. By *Henry J. Cohn*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965. Pp. ix, 289. \$8.80.)

THE only German territory whose government and administration in the fifteenth century has been fully studied so far is Württemberg. One therefore welcomes Mr. Cohn's study on how the Electors of the Palatinate transformed "feudal rights and delegated royal power" into a territorial state with a unified administration.

Cohn first discusses to what extent primogeniture and inalienability of lands were accepted in the Palatinate. He then investigates the methods through which the Electors were able to double the size of their territories in the fifteenth century. The question of how the Electors financed these costly wars and purchases leads to a detailed discussion of the financial resources of the Palatinate. In a very interesting chapter Cohn examines the way in which the Electors established themselves as *Landesherren* in all their various territories. Even before the Reformation the Electors controlled the church in the Palatinate through their influence on the sees of Worms and Speyer. They were able to convert a large number of nobles into subjects. In order to secure strict military service and loyalty, they used the institution of retainers, the German form of "bastard feudalism." They kept a tight grip on the towns. Contrary to the usual view, Cohn proves that estates existed in an early formative state in the Palatinate in the fifteenth century. In a final chapter he investigates the supreme court, the council and chancery, the financial administration, and the functions of the local officials.

On several occasions Cohn discusses the social background of government officials. Still I am a bit disappointed that he has not systematically analyzed the sociology of the central and local institutions: their exact composition, the social background of all officials, their years of employment, their salaries, and so forth. There are two small maps showing only towns and rivers. More detailed, colored maps would certainly have required a great amount of work, but it would have been worth while.

These two weaknesses do not, however, impair the value of Cohn's book. It is a major contribution both to the history of the Palatinate and to the study of constitutional and administrative history of German territories in the fifteenth century. Apart from the printed sources, the author has used an immense amount of material in the archives of Karlsruhe, Munich, Strasbourg, and many other cities. The book is indispensable to the student of late medieval administrative history.

Yale University

CLAUS-PETER CLASEN

THE CHRONICLE OF GEORGE BOUSTRONIOS, 1456-1489. Translated, with introduction, by *R. M. Dawkins*. [University of Melbourne Cyprus Expedition, Publication Number 2.] ([Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press;] distrib. by University Bookroom, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria. 1964. Pp. xiii, 84. 40s.)

SINCE Cyprus is again a focus of contention between factions within and former or would-be ruling powers without, there is something timely in the translation of a source on the end of the island's Lusignan dynasty and on the assumption of its rule by Venice.

The dynasty's association with Cyprus began in 1191 when the French adventurer Guy de Lusignan received the island from Richard I of England, who had seized it from a local Byzantine ruler while on his way to join the abortive Third Crusade. For the three centuries of the family's subsequent rule our chief contemporary source is the chronicle of the Cypriot Greek Leontios Makhairas, one of the most important post-Byzantine Greek historians. Makhairas' work is most fully detailed for the latter half of the fourteenth century and for the early fifteenth century, where it breaks off in the middle years. For the remaining Lusignan period we have the present work, intended as a continuation of Makhairas' chronicle. Written by a former retainer of King James II (1464-1473), it is devoted mainly to his career and reign, and then extends its narrative to the expulsion of James's widow by the Venetians in 1489. Two added entries, noting events of 1499 and 1501, respectively, are found only in a British Museum manuscript of the text and are possibly not by Boustronios himself.

Whatever their respective literary and historiographic merits, these two chronicles are interesting demonstrations that it was possible for Greek populations in the late medieval Levant to adjust satisfactorily to Latin rule. There are distinct differences between the two texts, especially in terms of quality. Where Makhairas has some sense of style and organization, Boustronios is essentially a gossipy former domestic who scribbled his personal recollections of events on his island during his lifetime, only occasionally rising above banality to some sense of perspective. He does, however, convey something of the contemporary flavor of situations, and he provides considerable eyewitness information on the end of the Lusignan era.

The texts of both Makhairas and Boustronios were published by Constantine N. Sathas in Volume II of his *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθηκὴ* (1873). The late Professor Dawkins produced some years ago a fine critical edition, with English translation, of Makhairas' work, and in due course he also prepared a translation of Boustronios sequel. Unfortunately, he made no attempt to include a new critical edition of the text, presumably out of deference to the forthcoming edition promised by Th. Papadopoulos in Volume II of his "Bibliotheca graeca aevi posterioris" series. Otherwise, however, little but praise is due this publication.

Dawkins has translated Boustronios' style faithfully and idiomatically. While he has interpolated several passages from the British Museum manuscript that were not included in Sathas' edition, he has altered little of the author's original organization, chaotic as it was. Instead, he has wisely prefixed an explanatory

introduction and a helpful summary of the chronicle's contents. Beyond some citations in the explanatory sections, however, there is no bibliography.

Altogether, this is a valuable publication. Together with the translator's earlier rendering of Makhairas, and as a supplement to Sir George Hill's monumental *History of Cyprus*, it makes available to the medievalist without Greek some essential source material on the Latin rule of this part of the Mediterranean. By itself it is a worthy memorial tribute to Dawkins' humane scholarship.

University of Wisconsin

JOHN W. BARKER

LUDWIG XI. UND KARL DER KÜHNE: DIE MEMOIRES DES PHILIPPE DE COMMINES ALS HISTORISCHE QUELLE. Volume I, Parts 1 and 2. By *Karl Bittmann*. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 9, Volume I, Parts 1 and 2.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1964. Pp. 367; 375-632. DM 37; DM 27.)

PHILIPPE de Comines (or Commines, or Commynes) may not have provoked as much scholarly controversy as his younger contemporary Machiavelli, but he has scarcely suffered from neglect. His piquant French prose, his robust common sense, and his disarming candor have all been admired. There have been some reservations, of course, in accepting him as a reliable guide to the events of his time. He was too involved in the conflicts to be non-partisan, his purpose in writing was largely didactic, and he was guilty of both omissions and factual errors. On the other hand, his unique position as spectator and the cogent verisimilitude of his narration have been so compelling that discrepancies have almost always been dismissed as sufficiently minor to leave his general credibility undamaged.

Dissatisfied with this conventional evaluation, Karl Bittmann has launched an ambitious, slow-paced study of Commines's memoirs "als historische Quelle." The first volume takes us through three of Commines's books, with some 250 pages devoted to the years 1471-1472. Eventually there will be three volumes and a supporting selection of documents. Although such a scale of treatment will deter some readers, it is justified by the incredible influence of Commines's memoirs in establishing stereotypes that still tend to dominate our view of the late fifteenth century.

Bittmann has no flippant desire to "debunk" Commines. The detailed summaries with which he begins his discussion of each book are at once a critique and a fresh appreciation. He too admires the artistic skill with which Commines gives an impression of ingenuous objectivity. But then Bittmann moves into the heart of his study. He analyzes Commines's narration for internal discrepancies, places the events in a larger framework of international relations, and confronts the memoirs, scene by scene, with the differing accounts of other primary sources.

The result is not simply to demonstrate Commines's errors on certain details, although this is accomplished with unprecedented thoroughness. More important, the errors are shown to be not at all peripheral, as the stock answer has had it, but pivotal to the entire interpretation. Not content with mere refutation, Bittmann grapples with the more difficult problem of Commines's motives

and his mode of perception. If at times Comines was guilty of deliberate distortion, he seems more often to have been misled by inaccurate statements of his contemporaries, by his excessive reliance on witnesses (including himself) unable to perceive the events from a larger perspective, and by his willingness to accept explanations projected deliberately for purposes of propaganda. The origins of the conflict in 1471, for example, he saw as resulting from factional intrigue. Bittmann demonstrates that Louis XI deliberately promoted this intrigue-and-machinations theory in order to absolve himself from responsibility, that it is totally inadequate as an explanation, and that Comines consistently gave it strong emphasis in his own narration of the events. Comines could indeed find supporting evidence, but when he first misread and then overemphasized it, the result was to give the impression of hardheaded realism while in fact providing an unreliable and naïve interpretation.

None of this should be surprising in a historian-memorialist of the late fifteenth century. It is a tribute to Comines's reputation that his great work deserves Bittmann's analysis. Historians of the fifteenth century and anyone interested in Renaissance historiography will await with great interest the remaining volumes of this imposing study.

University of California, Santa Barbara

DAVIS BITTON

Modern Europe

ÖSTERREICH UND EUROPA: FESTGABE FÜR HUGO HANTSCH ZUM 70. GEBURTSTAG. Edited by the Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung and the Wiener Katholischen Akademie. (Graz: Verlag Styria. 1965. Pp. 616. 552 Sch.)

Most *Festschriften* are a burden to read and an unmitigated nuisance to review. From the standpoint of quality, they are all too often the repository of the second-rate work of first-rate scholars. In form and theme they generally exhibit, under the fig leaf of some vague collective title, such a bewildering variety of subjects and treatments as to defy analysis and baffle critique.

This particular *Festschrift* does not entirely escape these faults, but it is much better than average on all counts. The list of contributors is a distinguished one, including, for example, Max Braubach, Hanns Leo Mikoletzky, Heinrich Benedikt, Erich Zöllner, Adam Wandruszka, Jacques Droz, Friedrich Engel-Janosi, Rudolph Kiszling, and Robert A. Kann. More important, each of the thirty-two essays is a scholarly production. Most, in addition, give the impression of being serious pieces of independent work, and not, as is so often the case, mere fragments left from some larger investigation and warmed over for this occasion. With some glaring exceptions, the essays are reasonably clear and interesting in style. Although the book covers a broad time span (1500-1945) and includes a wide range of topics (military, political, diplomatic, economic, intellectual, and religious), there is at least as much unity to the work as the title implies, with most of the articles treating Austrian history within a European framework. Anyone interested in modern European history will find something to his taste.

Within the space allotted, I can only touch on some of the important contributions. Günther Hamann shows how the impact of Catholic missionary work in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China was blunted by theological disputes between liberal, syncretist Jesuits and conservative Dominicans and Franciscans, despite the immense importance and value to China of the scientific and scholarly work promoted by these missionary clerics. Victor-L. Tapié describes the obstacles in the path of Louis XIV's dying dream of a Franco-Austrian alliance against England that prevented its fulfillment until 1756. Heinrich Benedikt, Erich Zöllner, and Hans Wagner each add information on Josephinism.

Four able essays deal with various aspects of Austrian diplomacy prior to and during World War I. The most important and interesting is Helmut Rumpler's "Die Kriegsziele Österreich-Ungarns auf dem Balkan 1915/16," which uses new archival materials to discuss the internal struggle within Austria over the extent and goals of its proposed annexations. Kann concludes the volume with a typically abstruse but stimulating essay on the impossibility of developing a satisfactory theory of federalism because of the contrary tendencies that federalism takes and the mutually incompatible purposes that it can serve.

In sum, this is an unusually good *Festschrift*, worth while both for its content and as an appropriate tribute to the wide interests, the scholarship, and the pedagogical influence of Professor Hantsch.

University of Illinois

PAUL W. SCHROEDER

FORSCHUNGEN UND STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES WESTFÄLISCHEN FRIEDENS: VORTRÄGE BEI DEM COLLOQUIUM FRANZÖSISCHER UND DEUTSCHER HISTORIKER VOM 28. APRIL-30. APRIL 1963 IN MÜNSTER. [Schriftenreihe der Vereinigung zur Erforschung der neueren Geschichte e. V., Number 1.] (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1965. Pp. 126. DM 22.50.)

THIS volume comprises a preface by Professor Max Braubach and six articles, the longest of which, by M. Alphonse Dupront, is devoted to the intellectual life of the papal nuncio, Fabio Chigi (later Pope Alexander VII) during the negotiations that led to the Peace of Westphalia.

In his preface Braubach characterizes the Peace of Westphalia as an attempt to re-establish the Occidental community of nations that had begun to disintegrate at the end of the Middle Ages. Jean Meuvret briefly discusses the influence of economic conditions on policy in terms of the inability of France, owing to shortage of money, to bring into its service after 1648 regiments that had previously been in the pay of the Emperor and Bavaria. Madrid outbid Paris for the services of these troops and used them to continue hostilities. Fritz Dickmann argues that at the time of the Peace of Prague (1635), the Habsburg goal of a monarchic solution of the constitutional problem in Germany was within reach. The internal divisions of the Empire and the intervention of foreign powers, however, destroyed that hope: only a small group of pro-Habsburg "radicals," led by Hesse-Cassel, stood by the Kaiser to the end. The final result was the transformation of

the *Reich* into something between a *regnum* and a *Staatenbund*, which by 1667 already baffled the efforts of Pufendorf to describe it in Aristotelian terms. Roland Mousnier asserts the endemic nature of revolts in France after 1610 and argues that after 1630 they were generalized, especially among the lower classes in town and country. These revolts, abetted by the privileged orders, were often made in defense of local liberties, against the "revolutionary" tendencies of the king-in-council. Mousnier reserves judgment on the question of whether such revolts were a vital factor in constraining France to make peace at Münster. In a well-documented paper Alphonse Dupront presents Chigi as a sensitive eyewitness of the passing of medieval Christendom and the birth of a secularized Europe of absolute states. Hermann Weber approaches the same problem as it is developed in the sermons and *Journal* of François Ogier and in the papers of his friend, the diplomatist Claude de Mesmes, and concludes that for them the description of the Peace of Westphalia as a *Pax Christiana* was no empty formula. Kurt von Raumer treats 1648 as a decisive date in the history of the European bourgeoisie on the grounds that it was then that the independence of the archetypal bourgeois state, the United Provinces, was recognized. Even the rise of Brandenburg-Prussia, especially between 1640 and 1740, is seen as a bourgeois phenomenon. In Von Raumer's view, however, 1648 did not mark the definitive triumph of the national state because of the subsequent persistence of such international (and prebourgeois) institutions as the *Reich*, the Church, the nobility, and the tradition of Latin scholarship.

Hanover College

R. H. THOMPSON

ACTA PACIS WESTPHALICAE. Series 3, Part D, VARIA. Volume I, STADT-MÜNSTERISCHE AKTEN UND VERMISCHTES. Edited by *Helmut Lahrkamp*. (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1964. Pp. xxiii, 402. Cloth DM 50, paper DM 46.)

THIS is part of an important projected publication of the documents relating to the Peace of Westphalia. When the collection is completed, we surely will have new interpretations of the treaties of Westphalia. This volume contains 264 documents taken from the Münster Archives starting on August 26, 1641, when Johann Detten, an imperial secretary and a native of Münster, warned the city council that in a few days a letter from Emperor Ferdinand III would announce the fact that Münster had been chosen as the seat of the peace negotiations. The last entry is the expense account of Councilor Dr. Rottendorff (undated) of 1653. It also contains three appendixes: the first taken from baptismal registers of the city churches; the second, the *Observations* (Latin text) of Dr. Adam Adamis taken from the manuscript found in the cathedral library of Hildesheim; and the third, a revised list of names of the diplomats and their "creatures" who made the treaties of Westphalia. Anyone who has worked in mid-seventeenth-century archives will at once recognize Lahrkamp's labors in establishing these texts. For the mature scholar his decision to keep the orthography as he found it in the documents is undoubtedly correct; he has not translated into modern German either the German or the Latin originals.

The documents have a fascinating story to tell. In 1641 Münster was a town of

about ten thousand that, thanks to its walls, its bishop, and its town government, had managed to save itself from being treated as brutally as many neighboring towns had been. This was probably responsible for the Emperor's choice of Münster as the treaty city. The diplomats were slow in assembling, but by about 1646 they and the hangers-on, "lobbyists," and others almost doubled the population without expanding the territorial size within the protective walls. Problems of police and protection were unavoidable, but even more difficult was the provision of foodstuffs. The church baptismal record would indicate that at least some of the citizens of Münster managed to get along with their "guests," for many of the children born to townfolk had diplomats for godparents. The excerpts from the Adamis manuscript consist of short discussions of the problems of the peacemakers and of the city after 1641. Lahrkamp's work on the list of the diplomats at Münster, while the most extensive that has as yet been produced, is still incomplete, but it is particularly useful since he organizes people under their respective countries, or, as in the case of the Empire, their imperial status, and then alphabetically.

University of Minnesota

JOHN B. WOLF

THE IMPERIAL LOANS: A STUDY IN FINANCIAL AND DIPLOMATIC HISTORY. By *Karl F. Helleiner*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 190. \$4.50.)

THE world of war debts and foreign subsidies has a quality of fantasy about it that was not left to our generation first to experience. Professor Helleiner has examined in detail a little-known historical sector of the subject. Briefly, Austria floated two loans (1795 and 1797) on the London money market in order to finance the French wars. The British government backed the operation by guaranteeing these loans and, in fact, integrating them with public borrowings on Britain's own account. Thenceforth the question of repayment plagued Austro-British relations, and finally in 1823, after a period of suspended animation, the issue came to a head. Austria then made a token liquidation of the debt by means of a sum borrowed from a consortium of international bankers.

Curiously enough, as soon as Britain entered the French war, Prussia received outright subsidies, although Austria had to assume obligations of repayment. Why this distinction was made never very clearly appears, but presumably family relationships and the Austrian Netherlands' being at stake had something to do with it. Later there was little hesitation in offering subsidies to Russia. Not until 1805, however, did Britain subsidize Austria. After Austerlitz a defeated Austria was actually receiving arrears on the subsidy and using them toward an indemnity secretly promised to Napoleon.

The change from a policy of loans to one of subsidies made requests for repayment anomalous and illogical. The Austrians easily thought the subsidies implied forgiveness of the debt. But the British, as late as 1822, officially took the stand that Austria owed something over £17,000,000 in simple (not even compounded) interest, as well as the original capital (£6,200,000). Parliament had to be satisfied, and from the moment the question of repayment arose the British ministers made good use of parliamentary pressure to squeeze the debtor. On that account

they found it easy to ignore assurances made from time to time in conversation that these matters would never arise to trouble the Austrians again.

To have traced this thread through such a long and complex web of international relations is a work of merit perhaps beyond the call of duty. From a philosophical point of view it reveals with unusual clarity the necessary evasions, fictions, and tergiversations of diplomacy. Some good came out of it all in the end, however, a part of the money going for church building, repairs to Windsor Castle, and the beginnings of the National Gallery.

Thetford Center, Vermont

CHESTER H. KIRBY

DER FRIEDE VON PRESSBURG: EIN BEITRAG ZUR DIPLOMATIEGESCHICHTE DES NAPOLEONISCHEN ZEITALTERS. By *Rudolfine Freiin von Oer*. [Neue Münsterische Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung, Number 8.] (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1965. Pp. 292. Cloth DM 36, paper DM 34.)

THE generally high level of scholarship that has characterized the Münster historical series is conspicuously maintained in this engrossing monograph by a student of Kurt von Raumer. With a thorough knowledge of the literature and a comprehensive utilization of the French, Austrian, and Bavarian archives, Dr. von Oer has written with objectivity, insight, and wit, producing a model study of an important episode in diplomatic history.

The broad outlines of the story as laid down in past years by Édouard Driault, Hans Zwehl, and, most importantly, Harold C. Deutsch, remain intact: Austria's vacillations, the confusion between Berlin and Vienna, the shattering effect on Austrian policy of the Franco-Prussian Treaty of Schönbrunn, and the irresolute, demoralizing actions of the Russians. Within these limits, however, the picture is considerably changed. Count Haugwitz, who is usually made the villain for signing the Treaty of Schönbrunn, is ingeniously, if not altogether convincingly, defended. Metternich, who was decorated for his adroitness as ambassador in Berlin, in reality committed several egregious blunders. Stadion, whom Hellmuth Rössler considered an adamant opponent of peace, is shown to have become Foreign Minister in time to issue the final instructions leading to capitulation. In general the Austrians equaled the southern German courts in seeking territorial gain at the expense of the Holy Roman Empire.

The author's most original contribution is the solution of the puzzle about the reference in the Treaty of Pressburg to "the Confédération Germanique" even though the *Reich* was not expressly dissolved. By examining carefully Napoleon's prewar treaties of alliance with Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden, and his post-Austerlitz promises to them with regard to the coming peace, Von Oer argues that at first such terms as "sovereignty" and "confederation" were commonplace misapplications of French nomenclature to the German situation and thus were no more incompatible with the existence of the *Reich* than was *Landeshoheit*. Later, in a Talleyrand memorandum of November 1805 and in the French treaties with southern Germany, the terms are given more precise meaning, only in the end to be left vague again in the Pressburg document because Napoleon really had not yet decided whether to preserve the *Reich* or not. The net result is to

show an evolutionary development in French thought toward the Rheinbund Act of 1806.

In this connection, the author rightly contends against Rössler that Napoleon kept the *Reich* alive at this time, not so much to gain the crown for himself as to appease the Austrians lest he need them some day as allies against Russia. This is only one example of Napoleon's diplomatic wizardry, which, according to the author, deserves as much attention as his military campaigns. I heartily agree and can only hope that future studies of Napoleonic diplomacy will be as good as this one. The numerous archival documents published in the appendix attest to the treasures still to be exploited in developing this side of the many-faceted Corsican.

University of North Carolina

ENNO E. KRAEHE

DIE DEUTSCH-FRANZÖSISCHE TRAGÖDIE, 1848-1864: POLITISCHE BEZIEHUNGEN UND PSYCHOLOGISCHES VERHÄLTNIS. By *Rudolf Buchner*. (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag, 1965. Pp. 246. DM 27.)

THIS is not a history of diplomatic relations but a history of what the political leaders of France, Prussia, and Austria, and to a lesser extent other German states, Italy, England, and Russia thought, planned, and actually executed with respect to Franco-German relations. Although it explains the reactions of the leaders primarily on the basis of diplomatic documents, it uses expressions of semiofficial and unofficial persons to reveal public opinion, and it sets the discussion of France's policy toward Germany and Germany's policy toward France within the diplomatic history of the major powers. Focusing upon relations of France, Prussia, and Austria as crucial for those of Europe as a whole, it shows that the disposition of the Rhineland held the key to these relations. By concentrating upon the role that Franco-German relations played in the diplomatic activity of these years and by explaining its interaction in detail, it offers a form of history of international relations that clarifies continuing basic issues. The author hopes thereby to prove that Franco-German animosity is not inevitable and eternal, that it can be dated and explained and therefore is capable of change. He uses the study of history to help overcome a heritage of mistrust and fear. In this endeavor the author by implication rejects the usual theory of geographical determinism.

The work is highly interesting. It reveals in vivid detail the unsettling effect upon diplomatic relations of having a disunified Germany and Italy, with a disintegrating Ottoman Empire as well. These conditions tempted political leaders constantly to propose partitions and other territorial arrangements upsetting to everyone. The author's analysis of the problems, often amounting to dilemmas, that these plans exposed makes evident that the diplomacy of the period serves admirably as a laboratory for understanding fundamentals of European international relations during the past century and a half and the man-made nature of these fundamentals.

The study is clear, restrained, and scholarly. Buchner has packed well-selected relevant detail and judicious interpretation into the 164 large pages of text, and he has used, as his 56 pages of notes prove, the published sources and secondary works in German, French, Italian, and English, together with materials in the

Austrian archives. The author's promise to conclude his work with a second volume continuing the analysis to 1871 is most welcome.

University of California, Los Angeles

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

PEDDLER OF DEATH: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR BASIL ZAHAROFF. By *Donald McCormick*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1965. Pp. ix, 11-255. \$5.95.)

THE foreign news manager of the *Sunday Times* of London has created a picture of an *éminence grise*. It is not flattering and is not, as the title would indicate, intended to be. Zaharoff was a superlative salesman who spoke the languages and knew the most influential people in the arms producing nations and in the many world-wide customers for arms. He reached his peak in the First World War in which he was an intimate of Lloyd George. McCormick is provocative, if not very credible, in his contention that Zaharoff deliberately prolonged the war for profits just as he had in the past stimulated armaments races between rivals so that he could sell to both sides. But Zaharoff was the kind of man who was bound to attract enemies. Of obscure Balkan background, he had the area's supposed delight in complex and ruthless political maneuvering, in shady deals, and in a cultured life. Though, like Lloyd George, he had an interest in women, he never let them interfere with business. On the contrary, he used them to further his ends. Zaharoff relentlessly pursued both anonymity and success. As a result, though he was a partner of Nordenfeldt, Maxim, and the Vickers brothers, he was sufficiently unknown to make a trip into Germany to gain information during the war though there was a price on his head.

Typical of many journalistic books, this one annoys the scholar in its loose use of sources. Too often, if there is a footnote, it merely refers to an author whose work is mentioned in the bibliography without being any more explicit. Moreover, much of the evidence is taken from books and documents of the antiwar period of the 1920's and 1930's when not only were armaments manufacturers being reviled as the instigators of the First World War, but when even the government of the day was engaging, in Britain at least, in saying one thing publicly and doing another privately. McCormick appears to lean heavily to the Hobsonian idea that British industry could have supported itself without exporting, for he attacks the pre-1914 export of warships, though this enabled Britain to keep up manufacturing facilities that would otherwise have been unavailable. On the Mulliner incident, moreover, he has failed to consult the first volume of Marder's *From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow* (1961), which is, after all, based upon extensive research into both official files and published sources. The inevitable conclusion is that *Peddler of Death* is a facile but unsympathetic portrait.

Kansas State University

ROBIN HIGHAM

KAMPFBÜNDNIS AN DER SEINE, RUHR UND SPREE: DER GEMEINSAME KAMPF DER KPF UND KPD GEGEN DIE RUHRBESETZUNG 1923. By *Heinz Köller*. [Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Allgemeine Geschichte an der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Number 8.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1963. Pp. 347. DM 9.80.)

THIS volume, one of a series of historical publications of the Institute for General History of the Humboldt University in East Berlin, is devoted to a study of the cooperative efforts of the Communist party of Germany (KPD) and the Communist party of France (abbreviated in German as KPF), at the time of the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923. This aspect of the history of the Weimar period is portrayed in the manner currently prevailing in the German Democratic Republic.

The account opens with a discussion of the economic and political causes of the Ruhr occupation and of the situation of the KPD and KPF within their respective countries and their relations to the international Communist movement on the eve of the occupation. It continues with the story of the activities of the two national Communist parties in the course of the occupation and of efforts at cooperation between them. The occupation is interpreted as an effort of French heavy industry to control the mines and industries of the Ruhr together with the ore fields of Lorraine under the guise of enforcement of reparations payments. The policies of Poincaré and of Chancellors Cuno and Stresemann and of Hugo Stinnes are denounced, as are the actions of the Social Democratic leaders, while Adenauer is regularly referred to as one of the leaders of the separatist movement. The KPD is described as inadequately prepared to meet the revolutionary situation of the summer and autumn of 1923. This is attributed in part to divisions within the party and to the existence of factions, described in the volume as "rightist-opportunist" (that of Heinrich Brandler and Heinrich Thalheimer, then in control of the leadership of the KPD), and "leftist-opportunist" (that of Ruth Fischer and Maslow, in control subsequently). The volume is written from the viewpoint of those later in control of the party: Ernst Thälmann, Wilhelm Pieck, and Walter Ulbricht.

The study includes a list of sources and bibliography, conveniently divided into archival sources, published documents, periodicals, Marxist literature, and non-Marxist literature. The principal archival collections listed are those of the *Zentralarchiv* at Potsdam and Merseburg, the *Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus* at Berlin, the Brandenburg archives at Potsdam, and governmental collections at Düsseldorf, Dortmund, Duisburg, Essen, Gelsenkirchen, and Oberhausen. The list of persons contains information useful in identifying a number of the less well-known actors in the events of the period, both French and German.

The author believes that the cooperation achieved between French and German Communist parties in 1923 constitutes a tradition binding the working classes of the two countries. He concludes that knowledge of these events can provide a valuable lesson and source of inspiration to the workers by the Seine, Ruhr, and Spree, who are exhorted to act in the spirit of the cooperation directed against the occupation of the Ruhr forty years ago.

Kensington, Maryland

JAMES S. BEDDIE

MUNICH: "PEACE FOR OUR TIME." By *Henri Noguères*. Translated from the French by *Patrick O'Brian*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1965. Pp. 423. \$7.50.)

IN the early hours of Friday morning, September 30, 1938, Édouard Daladier stumbled back to the Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten, exhausted and sick at heart, and

said, "I believe we have done something reasonable. Were fifteen million Europeans to be killed in order to force three million Sudetens who want to be German to remain attached to Czechoslovakia?" For nearly thirty years Daladier's judgment has been debated. Probably the debate will continue as long as the memory of Hitler lasts. In this account of Europe's troubles from the *Anschluss* to the fall of Czechoslovakia, Henri Noguères shows his eye for colorful detail and his talent for holding to the essential thread of his story. Anti-Munich, he is disapproving of Neville Chamberlain, contemptuous of Mussolini, admiring of Beneš, pitying of Daladier, and scornful of Georges Bonnet, who has never been able to bring himself to tell something like the truth of what he was about. Noguères follows a number of the familiar monographs and biographies, with his emphasis upon the diplomatic exchanges. He provides relatively little analysis of the domestic background of the Sudeten problem or of the French and British domestic scenes.

Although lengthy extracts from contemporary materials give a sense of immediacy to the book, the use of sources will invite dissent. The memoirs are used with success, including the still very slight recollections of Daladier. Some scraps of unpublished papers enhance, but do not seriously affect, the story. Noguères's acquaintance with the diplomatic documents, however, seems sketchy at best. His use of the British documents is disappointingly far from systematic and satisfactory. The German documents have been slightly more carefully considered. The available Czechoslovak documents have been ignored, as have the United States documents. In a word, the book is bibliographically unimpressive, and the narrative suffers accordingly.

The organization is clear and effective. From contemporary reporting of the Munich Conference itself, circumstantial detail is skillfully built up. One has a sense of what it was like. The book does not compare, of course, with the elaborate treatment in the Royal Institute of International Affairs *Survey* for 1938, Volume III, nor with Boris Celovsky's scholarly *Das Münchener Abkommen von 1938*. But it achieves its own rather different purpose. Largely reliable, it is not without errors. Noguères confuses, at one point, the words of Neville Henderson with those of Chamberlain, makes an unnecessary puzzle of an important Foreign Office communiqué, accepts rather freely the recollections of Hans Gisevius, and misleads both himself and his readers about how and when the last appeal from London was made to Hitler. On the positive side, despite the paucity of French materials available, he points up the French part of the story in a manner that English-language historians have sometimes neglected to do. His book makes a useful companion to the excellent analysis of press and opinion in Geneviève Vallette and Jacques Bouillon, *Munich 1938* (1964).

The translation is generally good, though some of the retranslations back to English may be puzzling for anyone going to the sources. Despite two quite misleading captions, the pictures are welcome; the selection is different, smaller but better produced than that of the French edition. The references are scattered in a hit-or-miss fashion, almost wholly without precision; there is no system at all. The appendixes include a few major documents. There is no bibliography, but it is clear what it would include. This lack of the usual apparatus may be frustrating, but it does not make the telling of the grim Munich tale less than the compelling

chronicle it should be. Readers wishing to discover more will probably know where to find it; beginners will be agreeably sped on their way.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

THOMAS HOWARD, FOURTH DUKE OF NORFOLK. By *Neville Williams*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1965. Pp. xiii, 289. \$7.50.)

THE career of Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk, has at last been accorded that detailed and thorough treatment which has long been wanting. In this well-executed, even exciting biography (which appeared first in England early in 1964), Neville Williams has sympathetically charted the life of Elizabeth's premier peer from the hour of his premature birth in 1538 to the hour of his death thirty-four years later at the hands of the executioner.

As Williams unfolds his story, it becomes only too evident that Norfolk was indeed born under unfavorable stars. Misfortune was his portion in private life; not only did he lose his father at an early age, but the perils of childhood left him a widower three times over. But perhaps his greatest misfortune was his high birth, for Norfolk, as his father, Surrey, before him, felt that his lineage and nearness to the crown entitled him to that pre-eminence in court and council which Elizabeth was so wary of conceding to him. Yet, his downfall cannot be attributed solely to the untimely aspirations generated by his rank for, as Williams' telling depiction reveals, Norfolk's grasp of the demands of Elizabethan high politics was somewhat limited. He never seems to have realized that only the utmost loyalty could win him a full share of the Queen's confidence or, once he aroused her distrust by dallying with Mary Stuart, that his only hope of gaining power lay in seizing it by force. Certainly Howard made but a poor showing both as a courtier (preferring to reign supreme in his own "country" than to dance a constant attendance at court) and as a conspirator (preferring to plot rather than to take action). And so he was undone, but not before his biographer, who has exploited skillfully the relative wealth of documentary material available, has provided us with a remarkably full portrait of his career. Noteworthy, too, is the careful attention paid to the Duke's finances (his average annual [net?] income is estimated to be £3,500, compared to the figure of £6,000 for the gross rental of his estates in about 1559 supplied by Lawrence Stone) and to the other bases of his position as the greatest territorial magnate of his day—the great liberty of Norfolk itself and the wide array of offices, great and small, that he and his dependents accumulated in East Anglia and Sussex. In brief, this should stand as the definitive biography of one of the leading figures of early Elizabethan politics.

University of Iowa

HENRY HORWITZ

THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS VOIAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE ENGLISH NATION. In two volumes. By *Richard Hakluyt*. Printed at London, 1589. A photo-lithographic facsimile with an introduction by *David Beers Quinn* and *Raleigh Ashlin Skelton* and with a new index by *Alison Quinn*. [Hakluyt Society, Extra Series Number 39.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem. 1965. Pp. lx, 501; 506-975. \$35.00 the set.)

THE "prose epic of the modern English nation" has long been available in its full length in the twelve-volume edition published by the Hakluyt Society in 1903-1905. In its first form, the 1589 folio, with its purely English material, the *Principall Navigations* has been available in the best libraries, but it is good to have now this handsome offset facsimile. The black letter is as clear as the original, and the volume is notably enhanced by the new elaborate index done by Mrs. Quinn, which runs to 140 3-column folio pages as against the 9 pages of Hakluyt's original index.

The introduction is authoritative, written jointly by Professor Quinn of Liverpool University, himself a latter-day Hakluyt by virtue of his re-editing and expanding the documents of the Raleigh and Gilbert colonial ventures, which Hakluyt first collected, and Mr. Skelton, superintendent of the Map Room of the British Museum and chairman of the Commission on Ancient Maps of the International Geographical Union. Quinn's presumable part of the introduction is the account of the genesis and growth of Hakluyt's collection. He records or conjectures the sources of the documents in print or in government or company records; he calls the roll of Hakluyt's known acquaintances who may have contributed; and he finds probable reasons for the absence of documents that Hakluyt should have had. He also writes a valuable summary of the changes that Hakluyt made in the second edition in the materials of the first, noting the few items that Hakluyt omitted and discovering much altering and cutting of texts with which Hakluyt has not before been charged. Strangely enough, no one has yet attempted an annotated table of contents of the *Voyages*, and every reader has had to hunt down for himself the provenance and analogues of each item. Such a table, an actual guide to the *Voyages*, can now be begun, for this first edition at least, with Quinn's footnotes in this survey.

Skelton is given credit for supervising the production of the volume and for the census of extant copies of the original. He is also the undoubted commentator on the inferior world map that Hakluyt for some reason, perhaps economy, printed. The census raises to 102 the number of located copies of the book, plus a dozen unlocated copies (41 copies are in Great Britain and in present and former members of the Commonwealth; 59 are in the United States; 2 are in Finland, which were once owned by Nordenskjöld). Though the census lists for each copy its possession of variant items—the original or the substituted Jerome Bowes narrative, the stop-press Drake narrative—the editors note the need of a more systematic examination of the extant copies. They would also like a closer study of Hakluyt's editing now that it is called in question. The less specialized scholar would settle for a guide to the contents of the *Voyages*, since the Hakluyt Society, for all its hundreds of editions of travel literature, is not likely to tackle an annotated edition of Hakluyt himself. The society has at all events done us service in reprinting this first folio for all to see without chasing about the country to consult it.

Queens College

GEORGE B. PARKS

EDUCATION IN RENAISSANCE ENGLAND. By *Kenneth Charlton*. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 317. \$8.25.)

KENNETH Charlton's book is "surprisingly . . . the first" history of education in Renaissance England, a comprehensive, literate, and at times highly critical digest of material available until now only in monographs and articles or in works concerned primarily with other aspects of the age. The early chapters trace the history of education against the background of medieval and Renaissance cultural history with perhaps more attention to educational theory than to institutional history. Later chapters are devoted to informal education, travel, foreign languages, and technical education. In these areas, as in the more traditional ones, Charlton stresses the revolution brought about by the printed book and the role played by textbooks and manuals independent of institutional instruction.

Charlton concludes his highly favorable picture of the Tudor grammar schools with the statement that "at first sight it would seem the Renaissance produced the great age of the English grammar schools." And so the reader has concluded. But not so the author. The favorable picture is misleading, he declares, because it is based on prescription rather than practice. The schools failed to become the breeding grounds of humanist ideals. Proof of failure, and a partial explanation for it, is that they became instruments of policy used to strengthen the Church and the state against innovation. Bishop Jewel, for instance, considered scholarship "but a means to an end, something to be put to the service of the Church." And so apparently did Sandys, Pilkington, and all the rest, Puritans as well as Anglicans. The vast increase in school endowments reflected merely the status seeking of the donors—an unsupported generalization made despite W. K. Jordan's well-documented analysis of the motives of the donors.

According to Charlton, the universities, contrary to the humanist hope that they would provide a thorough humanistic education for England's governors, remained bound by their medieval statutes, reverent of Aristotle, and dominated by the Established Church and the government. Here, in contrast to his earlier argument, Charlton cites prescription against practice, taking exception at length to the conclusions of Mark Curtis in his recent *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*. "Certainly changes were taking place . . . increasing royal control, influx of the sons of the aristocracy and gentry, growth of collegiate teaching. . . . But none of this was cultural change, least of all the cultural revolution which Neale and Curtis claim." Charlton concludes that the university education which Neale and Hexter earlier and Curtis more recently have posited as the education of the future governors of the land was not humanistic. In any case exposure to it was too slight to have had much effect. With this latter argument he also dismisses any claim to influence on the part of the Inns of Court.

Mere arguments or statements of contrary opinion are not sufficient to balance the evidence and conclusions that Charlton dismisses so cavalierly. It is unfortunate that such an extremely useful text should be so weakened at the heart of its subject. No bibliography is provided, although the extensive sources are entered in full as footnotes.

Denison University

W. M. SOUTHGATE

ENGLAND'S APPRENTICESHIP, 1603-1763. By Charles Wilson. [Social and Economic History of England.] (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 413. \$7.00.)

IN this promising young series edited by Asa Briggs we now have an excellent new volume by the professor of modern history in Cambridge University. Calling easily upon his vast erudition and intimate knowledge of the period and topic, Charles Wilson gives us a relaxed, richly textured picture of the economic and social life of England from the accession of James I to the end of the Seven Years' War. Those familiar with the period will admire the easy authority and effortless flow of the writing, though, it must be admitted, beginners may find it a trifle allusive in spots. Wilson organizes his work into three periods, 1603-1660, 1660-1700, 1700-1763; in each, he carefully surveys agrarian, industrial, commercial, and financial developments. This creates a certain danger of repetition, particularly in agriculture, but this is held to a well-edited minimum. I should have preferred breaks at 1720 (to preserve the unity of the 1689-1720 generation) and 1775 as more meaningful for economic history, but this is perhaps a matter of individual taste.

Needless to say, in a volume of this sort, not everything will be covered to everyone's equal satisfaction. There might have been a little on Scotland after 1707, though this perhaps was not within the plan of the series, where "Britain" enters into volume titles only after 1815. There is much more on economic history than on social history, reflecting very reasonably the distribution of serious scholarly work in the last fifty years. All will admire Wilson's efforts at such modern interests as economic growth; nevertheless, some will undoubtedly wish that a bit more had been done with such social topics as the "aristocratic resurgence" of the eighteenth century, the implications of the rise of towns, and the development of urban cultural media from the theater to the press. Wilson is at his best in explaining the fundamental importance of the vast underemployed body of "the poor" in understanding both policy and the retardation of growth. He might perhaps have told us a little more about who these poor were, where they lived, and so forth. The already vast class of propertyless agricultural laborers never appears very distinctly.

In a work of such ambitious scope there are bound to be a few slips. The plague had not left Europe by 1700; witness the great Marseilles visitations of 1720-1721. Although consulted before its formation, Sir Josiah Child, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Charles Davenant, Newton, and Wren were not members of the Board of Trade established in 1696. These are, of course, trifles in a work that admirably synthesizes and perceptively interprets modern scholarship, that can be read by old hands and new with pleasure and profit.

University of Michigan

JACOB M. PRICE

INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS OF THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION. By *Christopher Hill*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 333. \$7.20.)

Two revolutions occurred in England before 1688: a political revolt against Charles I, which began with the Long Parliament and had to be fought out in a civil war; and an intellectual transformation that led, later in the seventeenth century, to the enthronement of science and its secular interests among the controlling cultural forces of the age. In this expansion of his 1962 Ford Lectures at Oxford, Christopher Hill has associated these two revolutions and tried to annex

the second to the first. He contends that the traditional intellectuals of the 1620's and 1630's were victims of a failure of nerve and convinced of the world's decay. Meanwhile, however, the stirring merchants and artisans, Puritan and Protestant, searched for an outlook. They found it in the ideas of science, progress, and reform. In a series of chapters on London science, Bacon, Raleigh, Coke, and some incidental lesser figures, Hill endeavors to sketch those influences that armed the minds of the "middle sort" to assault the old order. The Civil War, he makes the extraordinary assertion, "was fought between rival schools of astronomy, between Parliamentary heliocentrists and royalist Ptolemaics. . . ."

Few present-day historians of the seventeenth century possess the bibliographic range and erudition that are apparent in every page of Hill's book. If in spite of this he has written a singularly unconvincing work, it is because he has placed his wide learning behind an untenable thesis unlikely to be accepted by a critical reader. A puzzling feature of this study is its failure to provide a sharp and consistent definition of the revolution whose intellectual origins it professes to trace. The English revolution was, presumably, a determinate event. In this book, however, its outlines blur and vanish; it swells and billows until all concreteness is lost in its mystical union with the forward movement of the world process. It is curious that Hill should so much stress the merchants and artisans, the heroes of his story whom he sees as the main bearers of progressive change in politics and thought. He portrays them as "eager," "inquiring," and "confident in their ability to handle things," believers "in the expansive power of science," ready "to expand the nation's wealth and remould its institutions," and dependent only on "religious and scientific experiment, the test of their own independent critical senses." A pretty picture, but unrecognizable! If the revolution is brought down to earth to be grasped as a definite event, these apotheosized merchants-artisans do not possess the importance Hill gives them. The revolution of 1640 originated in a split in the governing class and the alienation of a substantial part of the latter from crown and court. To concentrate on the "middle sort," therefore, is highly misleading and overlooks a central problem. The revolution, of course, had intellectual origins, but they were not so broad as here represented. The movement of scientific ideas and interests in England and the dissemination of conceptions of progress and enlightenment transcended the revolution in their scope and were never even approximately coextensive with a single side.

Although Hill frankly acknowledges that he is arguing a case, his treatment is still strikingly one-sided. All that can be done to put Bacon, Raleigh, and Coke in the desired context he does, but, at the end, one has not been given a satisfactory, rounded analysis of the minds of any of these thinkers. Contrary to Hill's view, Raleigh's historical thought seems to me essentially traditional, and Bacon's connection with the parliamentarian cause a tenuous one. Nor can I regard Coke as a legal reformer or much of an economic liberal. It is implausible to depict Pym as a Baconian, for his speeches reveal a mind conservative and old-fashioned in many ways. To describe John Dury as a "hereditary rebel" is hardly right; Archbishop Laud patronized his irenic activity on the Continent, and he was still declaring his political neutrality in 1641. There is much reference to Ramism, but we get no account of it, and it is taken according to its own professions. The numerous long lists of men said to be in intellectual or political relations are not only con-

fusing but frequently questionable. And if one is going to trace the rise and diffusion of enlightened ideas, why omit Falkland, Hobbes, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and Clarendon? The answer, I fear, is that the affinity of all these to royalism is too marked to make them eligible for consideration. This alone suffices to show that Hill has proceeded on a false premise in confounding the English revolution with what has been called in a famous phrase "la crise de la conscience européenne."

University of Rochester

PEREZ ZAGORIN

THE REVOLUTION OF THE SAINTS: A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF RADICAL POLITICS. By *Michael Walzer*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 334. \$6.95.)

WALZER observes that whereas Mr. Christopher Hill "treats Puritanism as the social religion of the 'industrious sort' (merchants and artisans), I have tended to treat it as the political religion of intellectuals (ministers) and gentlemen." The starting point of his argument is the historical fact that less than fifty years after the close of one of the longest, most successful reigns in history Englishmen of differing ranks united to remove the head of the state by "judicial murder" and to reform both state and society according to their preconceived ideas and compel everyone within the jurisdiction of the state to conform to their conception of what was right and necessary. What nerved these men thus to ignore the supposedly fixed hierarchical order of society and the patriarchal order of the state and so to go on from seeking religious and moral reformation to attempting political revolution? "The purpose of this book," he says, "is to answer these questions through an historical and sociological study of Calvinist politics during the hundred years that preceded the English Revolution."

He begins with a lucid analysis of Calvinist ideology as he finds it set forth not only in the *Institutes* but also and more fully in the sermons and commentaries of Calvin himself. This he characterizes as an equivocal doctrine positing the absolute authority of the civil magistrate only to posit at the same time the absolute authority of God as represented by the church within the state, of the church, that is, as ruled by the Saints, the Saints being those elect few out of the generality of fallen men called by grace to share the experience of faith, make war on sin in their own members and in society at large, covenant with one another to form the church, and declare what God requires of Saints and sinners. What might be expected to happen and who should decide when the conscience of the Saints commanded one thing and God's vicegerent on earth the opposite, Calvin never makes quite clear. All this Walzer sets forth with admirable clearness.

In succeeding chapters he undertakes to discuss what this or that class, profession, order, sect, or party of Englishmen made of Calvinist doctrine in the historical situation that led to the revolutionary crisis of 1640. The Saints are shown drawing together in the endeavor to transform the state into the instrument of a compulsive, comprehensive, religious, moral, and social discipline. The complete Puritan Saint is to be seen in the character and career of Oliver Cromwell as described by John Milton, and the completed work of the Saint is to be seen in the Puritan Commonwealth. Walzer concludes that "it is now possible to suggest a

model of radical politics based on the history of the English Puritans" that "may serve to reveal the crucial features of radicalism as a general historical phenomenon and to make possible a more systematic comparison of Puritans, Jacobins, and Bolsheviks (and perhaps other groups as well)." The suggestion may be worth pursuing further, but the conclusion might be made more convincing. Much history ran down the years from Calvin to Cromwell. Walzer expatiates with energy and at length on the sociological ramifications and applications of Calvinist ideology in the Puritan period. It could be wished that he would expound more clearly the actual historical process in time by which Puritan religious experience led to English political radicalism.

Folger Shakespeare Library

WILLIAM HALLER

WARWICK AND HOLLAND: BEING THE LIVES OF ROBERT AND HENRY RICH. By *John Louis Beatty*. [Books of the Renaissance Series.] (Denver: Alan Swallow. 1965. Pp. 262. \$6.50.)

BEATTY has a promising theme, but fails utterly to exploit it. An adequate dual biography of the Rich brothers would illuminate some of the central features of seventeenth-century England. Warwick, the great colonial promoter, privateer, naval commander, and Puritan "country" nobleman, contrasts conveniently with Holland, the supple courtier, monopolist, and Civil War waverer, best remembered for his execution in 1649. But Beatty entangles himself in difficulties of organization, devotes too much time to trivialities, and does not come to grips with important problems.

We are given pages of family connections, court functions, and committee assignments, but no clarification of their significance. A useful section on Holland's offices in the 1630's does not compensate for many serious omissions. There is nothing on Warwick's control of the county of Essex beyond a few gleanings from the *Calendars of State Papers*; local Essex sources are neglected. There are almost nothing on the roles of the two Earls in the war party-peace party conflict in the Long Parliament, no serious analysis of Holland's reasons for defecting to the King in 1643, and an account of Warwick's second naval command in 1648, which again relies wholly on the *State Papers* and the Venetian ambassador's reports. Astonishingly, no use has been made of the Thomason or any other collection of tracts and newspapers. Beatty finds the religious passions of the period funny or irrelevant and confesses his inability to understand them; it is therefore not surprising that he comes to only negative conclusions about the Earls' beliefs. This is not the only instance of the author's failure to make up his mind between alternative explanations of his subjects' behavior, or to adopt a consistent interpretation and stick to it.

The book is marred by repetitions, long quotations from secondary works, incidental factual errors, failures of identification, and an appalling style. Edmund Prideaux, surely one of the most important members of the Long Parliament, appears only as "an Edmund Prideaux." Sir Henry Mildmay is described as a future Earl of Sussex, and his relationship to Warwick is not shown. Lambert is transmuted into an admiral. The quality of Beatty's style can be gauged from his willingness to begin a sentence with "age-wise."

University of Virginia

DAVID UNDERDOWN

THE CABAL. By *Maurice Lee, Jr.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1965. Pp. 275. \$6.00.)

CHARLES II's "grand design"—to free himself from parliamentary restrictions—is the subject of this fresh and heavily documented examination of the period 1667–1674. During these years policy decisions were discussed in the committee of the Privy Council for foreign affairs, which was reconstituted in January 1668 and which became the heart of the central administration. Its membership varied. Arlington and Buckingham were original members, although the latter attended irregularly. Clifford began to attend in 1669, Lauderdale and Ashley, in 1670. In addition to the King and the Duke of York, about a dozen other officers attended the committee during the period covered by the present book. From the beginning the leaders were divided in their aims, and apart from the fact that not one was a sound Anglican they shared very little common ground. Two general conclusions are that the members of the cabal were not by any means competing on an equal footing and that Arlington's hand was to be seen in almost every transaction.

Each of the five main chapters of the book is devoted to one member, the organization being roughly chronological according to the phases during which their influence was paramount: Lauderdale and the subjugation of Scotland, Arlington and the Triple Alliance and Treaty of Dover, Clifford and the stop of the Exchequer, Buckingham and the Declaration of Indulgence, and Shaftesbury and the growth of parliamentary opposition. Much overlapping is thus involved, but never at the expense of clarity.

While institutional history is not central to the theme, the book will prove valuable for its incidental contribution on the conduct of government. Public finance is treated in much detail, and there are many suggestive comments on administrative methods, the verdict being that the danger of revealing the King's purposes made efficient administration impossible. The fate of the royal program in Parliament is carefully traced, and Clifford's reputation as bribemaster is alluded to, but without any systematic attempt to estimate the extent of parliamentary corruption for which the cabal was responsible. As the period 1670–1672 was especially noteworthy for the conferring of boons on members of Parliament, that subject would have repaid investigation.

The work is soundly based on printed and manuscript materials, and the literary output of the day is very skillfully exploited. There is not much to admire in the cabal, but Mr. Lee has effectively emphasized their qualities of industry, their interest in fiscal reform, and, in the cases of Buckingham and Shaftesbury, their concern for religious liberty. Thus he has supplied a welcome corrective to the diatribes of Marvell and Dryden, as well as a faithful narrative of a critical period in English history.

Vanderbilt University

P. H. HARDACRE

ADMIRAL HAWKE. By *Ruddock F. Mackay.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 374. \$7.70.)

EDWARD Hawke's career spanned the heart of the eighteenth century—from 1720 to 1771. Off Cape Finisterre in 1747 and in Quiberon Bay in 1759 Hawke gained

for Britain its two most decisive naval victories of the period. He also executed the remarkable blockade of Brest in 1759. Eventually he wound up as First Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Mackay has written this new biography mainly "to give a fuller appreciation and assessment of an outstandingly successful commander." His subsidiary aim is to add to our knowledge of the eighteenth-century navy by offering some details of Hawke's activities. He has carefully searched the available sources, including Hawke's private papers, ships' logs, and Admiralty letters.

Most of the book is devoted to the author's main purpose—the traditional one of naval biography—of making a case for his subject's greatness as an admiral. The accounts of naval operations are well constructed, and the necessary background for understanding strategy and tactics is amply provided. Here Mackay's research carries authority; the reader feels he knows where the ships were and why. Hawke apparently had sensible views on strategy. As for tactics, it seems that he was not much interested in them, if by tactics is meant the gaining of advantage through position and maneuver, for in both major victories Hawke engaged from a position of disadvantage. His view, which was contrary to the intent of the established fighting instructions, was simply that British ships and men, being superior, could win merely by getting close to the enemy and fighting. If Hawke was a great commander, it was because he got the main things right: he refused to be bothered by niceties of tactics; he understood the importance of steady discipline; he realized during the long blockade of Brest that the critical problem was the condition of his men rather than his ships. There is nothing, however, to indicate that he was an inspiring leader. He seems to have been honest, sensitive, upright, and dedicated, yet essentially colorless and uncommunicative.

The passages dealing with naval life and work, though sometimes illuminating, are largely unrewarding. Various subjects are treated with brief comment and passed rapidly before the reader in the same accidental order in which they were presented to Hawke. Lack of organization particularly mars the chapter on Hawke as First Lord. Although it is implied that Hawke had a policy for naval improvement, the subject is not systematically investigated. The only matter that is analyzed is naval spending under various administrations, the results of which favor Sandwich over Anson and Hawke. But it is a mistake to suppose that this was a matter over which a First Lord had much control, and the notion that he might have let the issue force his resignation has no place in the mid-eighteenth century. It may be, as Mackay suggests, that "the respective standing accorded to" these men as peacetime First Lords requires modification, but not by this sort of measure.

Ideally, historical biography lets us see the past through the subject's eyes. But, thanks to Hawke's uncommunicative nature, Mackay's patient research seldom reveals what the man thought. Instead, we are told what he "probably thought" and "must have felt." As a history of naval operations this book is satisfying. If it is unsatisfying as biography, it is because Hawke remains a man we do not know.

Princeton University

DANIEL A. BAUGH

THE FULHAM PAPERS IN THE LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY. AMERICAN COLONIAL SECTION: CALENDAR AND INDEXES. Compiled

by William Wilson Manross. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxii, 524. \$20.20.)

In 1959 Geoffrey Bill, librarian of Lambeth Palace Library, called attention in the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* to forty cardboard boxes of manuscripts newly transferred from Fulham Palace to Lambeth. They were the American files of the bishops of London, and although they were not completely unknown—Andrews and Davenport had noted them in their 1908 *Guide*, and the Library of Congress had microfilm of a part of the collection—their disarranged condition and the lack of a catalogue made scholarly usage next to impossible. Bill's note was a cry for help. In response, funds were raised and the manuscripts systematically arranged and numbered in forty folio volumes, twenty-one devoted to general correspondence between the bishops and colonial clerics and laymen from Newfoundland through the Windward Islands—some from the seventeenth century but most from the eighteenth—the remainder devoted to ordination papers, missionary bonds, and miscellaneous documents. The present work calendars and indexes the collection. It is a model volume. Mr. Manross, to judge from a comparison with transcripts from my files, has given trenchant and accurate summaries of each manuscript. His index (both name and subject) to the calendar is superb, and he has added an index of names appearing in the documents though omitted from the summaries. Perhaps some might criticize him for indexing the calendar to volume and document rather than page, thereby causing the user to hunt back and forth for the beginning of a given volume. But his obvious intention was to furnish a guide to both this book and the actual collection. He quite rightly chose to ease the task of the researcher using the latter, particularly as the reworked collection is now readily available on film through the Library of Congress.

Together with the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, still uncalendared but available in a more complete microfilming than heretofore as a result of recent work by an English commercial firm, the Fulham Papers constitute the basic source for any consideration of religion (Anglican and non-Anglican) in the colonies. Already Manross has made good use of them, his introduction largely resolving the thorny problem of the overseas jurisdiction of the bishop of London. The manuscripts, moreover, contain many political, economic, and social data. Manross' volume, and the collection that it so well describes, should not be ignored by any historian of English America.

University of Minnesota

DARRETT B. RUTMAN

THE PURSUIT OF CERTAINTY: DAVID HUME; JEREMY BENTHAM; JOHN STUART MILL; BEATRICE WEBB. By Shirley Robin Letwin. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 391. \$9.50.)

THIS title is appropriate if allowance is made for temperamental differences that basically affect its meaning. More precisely, the book is concerned with changing views of politics. In exposing the inadequacies of the judgment "that the distinctive political issue since the eighteenth century has been whether government should do more or less," Mrs. Letwin has been brilliantly successful. She has

shown how, in the cases of Hume, Bentham, Mill, and Beatrice Webb, other affinities and contrasts cut across the well-recognized antinomies of laissez faire and collectivism. She has done this by studies in depth of the four chosen thinkers, by describing the historical milieu of each, and by establishing the links between one thinker and the next. Working out her analysis of the whole man (or woman) in each instance with great subtlety and perceptivity, she displays at the same time a broad understanding of the many European contemporaries by whom the four were influenced or against whom they reacted. She compresses in a footnote how, in making Hume's theory of passions central to his system, she differs from Norman Kemp Smith; in another she disagrees with Halévy's diagnosis of Bentham's economics as consisting in the principle of the natural identity of interests. Yet Letwin is not conducting a polemic against one intellectual historian or another. Her book hardly deviates from its extended analytical task and makes engrossing reading throughout.

In the final chapter, however, the reader is curiously disappointed; the book even seems to fall apart, although its basic coherence can be quickly re-established by a return to the ten-page introduction. There one is reminded that all four thinkers were utilitarians, that all "praised a common sense, matter-of-fact, concrete, experimental approach to human affairs," and that all were primarily moralists rather than metaphysicians. These and other similarities, as well as the divergencies, are fully elaborated in a book that, after all, does hold together—and yet the flaw remains.

It has to do with Beatrice Webb, though Letwin's treatment of her, while briefer, is as consistently absorbing as are the other three. The author asserts in her introduction that Beatrice Webb "offered most eminently what her time demanded," and that in her work appears "the finished product" of the "transformed outlook on the nature of politics" progressively revealed by the preceding three, but she fails to demonstrate either contention. Indeed she virtually admits her failure in saying that the *Constitution for a Socialist Commonwealth*, which the Webbs regarded as their crucial work, is "one of the least remembered" of their books. Here and elsewhere she shows how the Webbs exalted the scientific expert in government to the point of revealing an extraordinary naïveté about the exercise of power.

Surely Letwin would have achieved her purpose much better with either Graham Wallas or J. M. Keynes. As it is, what she says about Hume, Bentham, and Mill is at once important and consonant with the recognized historical stature of each.

University of Rochester

WILLSON H. COATES

DARSTELLUNG DER LAGE DER ARBEITER IN ENGLAND VON 1760 BIS 1832. By *Jürgen Kuczynski*. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus, Volume XXIII. Part 2, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in England, in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und in Frankreich.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1964. Pp. 234. DM 19.80.)

DARSTELLUNG DER LAGE DER ARBEITER IN ENGLAND: VON 1832 BIS 1900; VON 1900 BIS ZUR GEGENWART. In two volumes. By

Jürgen Kuczynski. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus, Volumes XXIV and XXV. Part 2, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in England, in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und in Frankreich.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1965. Pp. 271; 296. DM 23; DM 24.70.)

PROFUSELY documented, this social and economic history of England since 1760 constitutes a completely revised and enlarged edition of Kuczynski's earlier and much shorter work on the same subject that appeared in English several decades ago. The present multivolume work examines in much greater breadth and depth the evolution of the English economy as a whole and relates changes in the condition of the working class to that evolving frame of reference.

The well-known East German labor historian rehabilitates the long-observed viewpoint of Toynbee and his distinguished students, the Webbs, and the Hammonds, that the Industrial Revolution of the years 1760-1832 constituted a sharp economic break with the past and that the plight of the working class deteriorated during those years. This contrasts with the view made popular by Clapham and Ashton, among others, who stressed the evolutionary character of those changes and saw an improvement in working-class conditions during that period. The years 1832-1850 marked a constructive and progressive period in the development of English capitalism. By 1850 but especially after 1871, according to Kuczynski, this system showed many symptoms of decadence: the aggressive pursuit of economic imperialism, the growth of business combinations, the declining power and prestige of the landed gentry, the widening cleavages among the working class, and the increasing hegemony of "finance capitalism." The initial disintegration of capitalism (1871-1917), in turn, ushered in the general crisis of capitalism during the years following 1917 when the world-wide front of imperialism was shattered by the Russian Revolution; Britain's colonial world crumbled under the impact of national movements of liberation; wealth became increasingly concentrated, thanks to the expansion of business combinations; the leadership of the upper bourgeoisie, as represented by the Conservative party, was shattered by the general sweep of political democracy; and the Western world came under the thrall of American capitalistic interests.

Kuczynski is thoroughly conversant with the appropriate sources and has consulted a prodigious array of material from scholarly monographs and periodicals to a variety of official records and reports, not to mention innumerable Marxian classics. Endowed with this consummate erudition, it is unfortunate that the author feels compelled to harmonize the material with his familiar clichés. This necessarily distorts and unbalances the entire work. He is, therefore, interested in combinations only as they document his deterministic dogma. The same is true of his studies of employment, industrial production, foreign trade, and overseas investment. This point of view is neither original nor unknown to Western scholars. It is astonishing that the vast array of useful and highly pertinent data adduced to document the author's grim prognosis of capitalism suggests, on the contrary, that, despite its well-publicized shortcomings, the English economy has created an increasingly affluent society for all but a rapidly dwindling minority of the working class to whom the work would seem to be addressed.

Pennsylvania State University

ALFRED G. PUNDT

CARTERET'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, 1766-1769. In two volumes.

Edited by *Helen Wallis*. [Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Numbers 124 and 125.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1965. Pp. xii, 273; vi, 275-564. \$15.00 the set.)

For some two and a half centuries the English penetrated Spain's private preserve in the Pacific. Although national policy was certainly a motivating factor, taking a rich Spanish galleon was a more practical objective. During this time only four galleons were actually captured; in the voyages of Thomas Cavendish (1586-1588), Woodes Rogers (1708-1711), George Anson (1740-1744), and Admiral Cornish's squadron in the Philippine expedition of 1762. The eighteenth century became the great day of Pacific exploration, culminating in the three definitive voyages of Captain James Cook.

Within recent years interest in the accomplishments of the Pacific explorers has revived. New editions, special studies, anthologies, even novels indicate this abiding interest. A vast literature on individual voyages has resulted; the Hakluyt Society has made the principal contributions to this valuable literature. Helen Wallis' survey of Carteret's voyage and edition of his journal of this famous and controversial odyssey is a significant publishing event.

Philip Carteret was second in command to Samuel Wallis on the Admiralty sponsored voyage to the Pacific that left Plymouth on August 26, 1766, and entered the Strait of Magellan on December 17. After an exciting passage, they lost contact at the Pacific exit on April 11, 1767. Wallis on the *Dolphin*, after extended visits to Tahiti and Tinian, returned to the Downs in triumph, May 20, 1768. Carteret on the sloop *Swallow*, which was quite unseaworthy and with inadequate supplies, discovered Pitcairn Island, engaged in controversies with the Dutch, and returned to Spithead, March 20, 1769. Carteret's voyage was an epic of navigation and personal leadership comparable only to that of Anson. Many problems have resulted due principally to the biased account in Hawkesworth's collection of voyages that appeared in London in 1773.

Wallis has made an outstanding contribution, which presents Carteret's accomplishments in such true perspective as to end the uncertainties that existed so long. Her two volumes are marvels of completeness. Carteret's journal, covering most of these volumes, is exceedingly well edited, and her comments are most valuable. Extensive footnotes, detailed explanations, and a full bibliography make this record of Pacific navigation valuable.

University of Colorado

JAMES G. ALLEN

MAITLAND: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION AND ASSESSMENT. By *H. E. Bell*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. 150. \$4.00.)

In his recently published book on Maitland the late H. E. Bell, formerly a fellow of New College, Oxford, wrote some words of what might be taken, or mistaken, for an extreme eulogy of the great man, of whom he said, "I regard him as the greatest English historian." Such an attitude, however, ought by no means to be thought of as resulting merely from an uncritical attitude of hero worship to-

ward Maitland; and the subtitle under which Bell's book was published is not unwarranted, for it can fairly be called "A Critical Examination and Assessment."

Like many another history student of his day, Bell came to be deeply interested in historiography, which he defined in the very first sentence of his opening chapter as "the study of the ways in which men have applied themselves to the problem of writing history." He realized that this had become a fashionable subject and even questioned whether it had not perhaps become too fashionable for the welfare of history. To which one is prompted to reply: "Perhaps it has."

Rochester, New York

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

WORSHIP AND THEOLOGY IN ENGLAND. Volume V, THE ECUMENICAL CENTURY, 1900-1965. By *Horton Davies*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xix, 494. \$10.00.)

THIS is the concluding volume (though only the third to be published) of Professor Davies' monumental comparative history of the varieties of English worship, bringing the story up to the "new theology" and Vatican II. This volume differs from its predecessors in that it succeeds in relating developments in worship to those in theology. In the twentieth century, English religious insularity has broken down, allowing worship to respond to such continental influences as the Roman Catholic liturgical movement, the Protestant rediscovery of the Church, neo-orthodoxy, and the postorthodox theologies. Ecumenism has enabled the various communions to appreciate the devotional heritages of others and to enrich themselves by borrowing, adaptation, and experimentation. As a result, says Davies, "this has been the century when Christian worship has come into its own." The correlation of Bible, Church, and liturgy has made possible a balance of the essential aspects of the Christian life: theology, ethics, and worship. Davies wishes to stress the primacy of worship, both as an all-inclusive category and as man's direct encounter with the numinous. He rightly points out that this aspect of Christianity has received insufficient attention from historians, but he goes too far in redressing the balance. Doctrines and social movements are somewhat distorted when viewed primarily from a liturgical point of view, and Davies does less than justice to immanent theology and the "social Gospel." Nonetheless, the period after 1930 affords him ample scope for his enthusiasm for liturgy and his broad ecumenical sympathies.

Despite much selectivity, the chief value of Davies' work lies in its comprehensive scope. He resembles Latourette in the ambition and voluminosity of his endeavor and in his transcendence of denominational boundaries. Ecumenicity, however, is not the same thing as objectivity. Davies has no hesitation in expressing his personal preferences, whether in religious art (of which he gives a lengthy catalogue) or in religious thought and practice. His "Concluding Critique" is frankly an "evaluation" of current tendencies, with his own suggestions for the future. Thus his work is something more, but also less, than a history.

University of Minnesota

JOSEF L. ALTHOLZ

BRITISH STRATEGY AND POLITICS, 1914 TO 1918. By *Paul Guinn*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 359. \$7.20.)

THIS exceedingly subtle analysis of British politics during the First World War is not calculated to appeal to those who imagine Lloyd George to be the hero of the piece; nor, for that matter, is it likely to make a very favorable impression on those who prefer some other worthy, civilian or military, for that distinction. The originality of the book is in its point of view; although Mr. Guinn has consulted the Asquith and Kitchener Papers, as well as other manuscript sources, he relies principally on published works, interpreting these in a way that has not been common.

Each of the war years is seen in a different light. In 1915 the nation had a maximum number of opportunities, and its military failures of that year Guinn ascribes to "errors in execution rather than conception." He blames both military and civilian leaders for the mistakes of that period. Contrasting these with the more "irremediable" failures of 1916, which derived from a fundamental misconception about what might be achieved by engaging the German armies on the western front, Guinn argues that this policy was developed by the high command and maintained against the government's "better judgment." The policy was imposed by generals who were supported by Carson and Milner in opposition and by Lloyd George within the government. These three, for different reasons, were agreed on a closely related set of aims: "*guerre à l'outrance*, a Western strategy, and compulsion for industrial labour." Asquith, as Prime Minister, and Grey, as Foreign Secretary, were not up to dealing with these men or their demands.

Where A. J. P. Taylor, in his recent "Oxford History of England" volume, speaks of Lloyd George's accession to power in December 1916 as "a revolution, British style," Guinn sees the event in less cosmic terms. He accepts the fall of Asquith as necessary for England and the Empire, and Lloyd George as better suited to the test of endurance than the man he replaced, but this does not deter him from calling it a "government of adventurers." The presence of Milner and Curzon, as two of the five members of the War Cabinet, has particular significance for him; he writes: "For the first and last time in British history the 'New Imperialism,' repudiated by the electorate in 1906, had captured the citadel of power." Guinn admits that the arrival of these men and of their friends did not immediately produce a new imperialist strategy, but he maintains that it hardened Britain's resolve to take over the principal direction of the war, making others subordinate to its will. This was an event of the greatest significance not only for the Empire but also for the *Entente*.

Guinn is not impressed by what the government was able to accomplish during its first year in office. Lloyd George's quarrel with Haig led, in his view, to a defeat for the Prime Minister that made him incapable of exerting a firm authority over the military. The failure of the war government in preventing the disastrous Flanders campaign, on which Haig had set his heart, was probably inevitable in the circumstances, as was Lloyd George's letter to Haig in October 1917 congratulating him on the "achievements of his Armies." The argument is made that Lloyd George's leadership in Parliament was scarcely more effective. It was only in the spring of 1918, with the start of the German offensive, that the tide turned for the government. Then the internal conflicts subsided, and the Prime Minister gained the support that had earlier been denied him.

There is much that is controversial in this volume. Ideas, like that of the "New Imperialism," are thrown out without their full implications being ex-

plored, and much that is relevant to the subject is neglected. Still, for its blunt refusal to find heroes and for its recognition of British resourcefulness amidst error and indecision, there are few works to compare with this one.

Brown University

STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD

THE WARPED VISION: BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1933-1939. By Margaret George. ([Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1965. Pp. xxiii, 238. \$6.00.)

MARGARET George has written a perceptive and, on the whole, persuasive analysis of the motives behind British foreign policy in the years before the Second World War. Using all the still inadequate public documents and private apologia that have been printed, she attempts to probe into the "why" of appeasement rather than trace once again the depressing and perturbing "what." Beginning with a study of the "Conservative mind" after the First World War, she argues that it was characterized by inexperience, narrowness of focus, and an isolation from the major changes in the European world, which, among other things, made for an almost romantic pro-German and anti-French stance. She recognizes, of course, that these were attitudes shared by many who opposed the Conservatives, but her legitimate concentration on those who were to make official policy in the 1930's tends to leave the reader with a somewhat unbalanced impression of the uniqueness of Conservative views. Having set the stage, George then proceeds to test how those views were reflected in the muddled pragmatism of the Baldwin years. Here she concentrates on the illusions and prejudices that stood behind the mismanaged response to Mussolini's aggression in Ethiopia and on the miscalculations that informed the handling of Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhineland and the first stages of the Spanish Civil War. After a somewhat unsatisfactory—unsatisfactory because it is unable to illuminate fully the connections between unofficial advocacy and official policy—section on the individuals, organizations, and institutions that fostered a pro-German policy, she turns to the most important part of her work, a study of Neville Chamberlain's policy from 1937 to 1939. A corrosive, but I think defensible, portrait of Chamberlain as a person and as a politician is followed by a devastating critique of the moral smugness, reactionary temper, and sheer ineptitude that were the hallmarks of the course doggedly pursued by the Prime Minister and supported by those whom George calls his "Conservative clique." Fear of Russia and of Communism, abhorrence of war, misunderstanding of Hitler's aims and of Nazism, concern for "Western civilization" and for class interests, some or all of these factors motivated the various Conservative appeasers as they tried to cope with the international turmoil of the thirties.

In general terms, I find the author's indictment convincing. What disturbs me somewhat is her tendency to stretch her inferences rather further than seems warranted by the evidence she presents. To illustrate with one example: Her discussion of the Cliveden Set rests heavily on the accounts of Claud Cockburn, who coined the phrase in his short-lived publication, *The Week*, and of Thomas Jones, whose *Diary with Letters* has been extensively used by most students of the period. Cockburn's analysis was sharply colored by his current political orientation—at the time far to the Left—while Jones's penetrating but narcissistic parading of

his close contacts with the great and near great ought not to be accepted at face value without considerable collaboration. I read them, in fact, as making a strong case against the existence of a Cliveden Set and would have been better satisfied with a more tentative evaluation of the Cliveden Set in the light, for example, of Michael Astor's fascinating comments in his autobiographical *Tribal Feeling* (1963) or of Donald Watts's dissenting conclusions in several of the essays recently collected in his *Personalities and Policies* (1965). George, in other words, is a bit single-minded in her pursuit of the villains of appeasement. Despite this caveat, however, she has produced an important analysis, the major contentions of which are likely to stand up to the test of additional documentation and further reflection.

Rutgers University

HRW

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by Sir James Butler. THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN. Volume IV, THE RECONQUEST OF BURMA. By S. Woodburn Kirby with M. R. Roberts et al. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1965. Pp. xxv, 568. \$17.00 postpaid.)

WITH the same careful scholarship, clarity, and attention to detail that characterized the first three volumes of this projected five-volume official series on the British role in the war against Japan, General Kirby and his colleagues have now addressed themselves to the 1944-1945 campaign to recapture Burma. Using British, Japanese, and American records, they have picked up the story in the summer of 1944, after the defeat of the Japanese effort to take Imphal, and followed General Slim's advance into Burma against the battered and disorganized enemy forces. They take as their theme Field Marshal Wavell's observation that "while coolness in disaster is the supreme proof of a commander's courage, energy in pursuit is the surest test of his will."

The pursuit into Burma was undertaken in the face of drenching monsoon weather and extremely difficult terrain conditions, over increasingly long lines of supply and communication. The authors explore these problems at length and show how air and river supply helped to overcome them. Not so easily resolved were the problems of inter-Allied command and conflicting strategic views in Southeast Asia, the demands of other theaters, and a shortage of troops that might have undermined the whole campaign. That these difficulties were to any extent met and reasonably handled was due in large measure to the ability and character of Admiral Mountbatten, the Supreme Allied Commander in the area. In the field, Mountbatten's political and strategic talents were easily matched by the qualities of command exhibited by General Slim. Slim conducted a brilliant, imaginative campaign and constantly kept the Japanese off balance.

To give perspective to their narrative, the authors describe concurrent events in China and the Pacific. The latter chapters will be of less interest to American than to British readers since they are based on published American sources, and, in any event, fuller accounts are available. On the other hand, *The Reconquest of Burma* is an excellent companion volume to the official American history of the

China-Burma-India theater, and its publication ensures that the complete story of events in that area is available to all.

Industrial College of the Armed Forces

STANLEY L. FALK

THE POLITICS OF REPEAL: A STUDY IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, 1841-50. By Kevin B. Nowlan. [Studies in Irish History, Second Series, Volume III.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 248. \$7.50.)

SEVERAL years ago, in a chapter in *The Great Famine* (1956), Dr. Nowlan examined in briefer form some of the story now presented in greater detail and in the context of the history of the 1840's as a whole. The starting point is 1841, in Ireland, the effective beginning of O'Connell's repeal agitation, and in England, the assumption of office by the Peel ministry. Repeal and reform, the politics of the famine years, the Young Ireland movement, O'Connell's relations with the Whigs, the failures of the Russell ministry to deal boldly with Irish problems, the abortive revolt of 1848 and its aftermath are the subjects of Nowlan's work. Its originality lies in the way it combines its themes, showing the relation of each to the others. Close students of the 1840's will value this interweaving of subjects, but it means, of course, that in order to pursue his theme Nowlan cannot fully deal with all the matters of which he writes. Young Ireland, for instance, is somewhat briefly treated, but in essentials the story is there, usefully placed in the broader history of the decade. Nowlan's introductory chapter contains many of his interesting conclusions. If the tragic developments of the forties brought into British politics an increased awareness of the special character of Irish problems and the need for remedial action, no English political party was prepared, Nowlan writes, "to take that bold action which might have saved the Union." If Nowlan has, indeed, shown the factors that kept Russell from fundamental reform in Ireland, he nevertheless judges it a "tragedy" that in the years between 1846 and 1852 neither ministry nor Parliament could free itself from orthodox economic doctrine, and "the powerful, persistent influence of the landed interest," and go forward with acts of imaginative statesmanship.

Could the union have been saved? To ask this finally unanswerable question reminds us how much more study is needed before we can further penetrate the present surface of Irish nineteenth-century history and reach both more certain and more speculative answers. We need to know, to mention only a few matters suggested by reading the present work, more about the national movement in the earlier century, about the structure of Irish politics in the Age of O'Connell and Peel, about the Catholic middle class and the Catholic Church, and, on both the Irish and on the English side, more about the psychologies, prejudices, and motivations of the rulers and the ruled.

Nowlan's work adds another volume to the studies that have recently been giving us a new Irish history and opening the way for further work. The style throughout does not always maintain the level of the introductory chapter, but the narrative is clear and carefully documented. The book is based on the papers of British statesmen, on the Young Ireland and O'Connell materials in Dublin, on

newspapers, on parliamentary papers and proceedings, and on relevant contemporary works.

Connecticut College

HELEN F. MULVEY

THE LIBERATOR: DANIEL O'CONNELL AND THE IRISH PARTY, 1830-1847. By *Angus Macintyre*. (London: Hamish Hamilton. 1965. Pp. xvi, 348. 50s.)

Few men did more to influence the course of modern history than Daniel O'Connell, but historians have not properly appreciated his significance. Two books published in 1965, Kevin Nowlan's *The Politics of Repeal* and this volume by Macintyre, go a long way toward giving O'Connell the attention he deserves.

Macintyre concentrates on O'Connell's role as leader of the Repeal or Irish party in the House of Commons in the 1830's and 1840's. During the early 1830's he not only commanded a substantial group of Irish M.P.'s, but he was also the dominant personality in a coalition that included Repealers and British Radicals. This coalition cooperated with the Whig government in the passage of reform measures. In 1835 O'Connell formalized his arrangement with the Whigs in the Lichfield House Compact. Though he was loyal to this alliance and his support kept the Whigs in office and pushed their legislation through Parliament, he never received a fair return for his efforts. Ireland was cheated in the Reform Bill, and Irish legislation concerning tithes, municipal government, and poverty were too conservative, inadequate, or unsuitable for the Irish situation. But O'Connell refused to repudiate the Whigs because he believed they were the only realistic hope for Irish reform. This confidence in the Whigs diminished and eventually destroyed his influence over British Radicals.

When Peel was in power (1841-1845) O'Connell turned his attention to agitating for repeal in Ireland and to frustrating the objectives of Peel's Irish policy. In 1845, after the failure of repeal, as a fading old man he resumed his alliance with the Whigs. In doing so he split the Repeal Association and destroyed what remained of the Repeal party in the House of Commons. He helped Russell and the Tory malcontents bring down the Peel government, but the Whigs repaid him by ignoring his pleas for justice and charity to Ireland during the famine. The inadequate returns from the Whig alliance, the defeat of the repeal agitation, the famine, and his conservative response to the demands of tenant farmers for economic security ruined O'Connell's brand of nationalism and left the field to the cultural nationalism of Young Ireland, more dogmatic in spirit and potentially more sympathetic to agrarian radicalism.

In a clear and exciting prose style Macintyre has admirably described O'Connell's complex personality: pragmatic nationalist, Benthamite, demagogue, effective parliamentarian, political organizer, and socially conservative landlord. He tends to underestimate O'Connell's influence on Irish nationalism after his death in 1847, but his book captures the spirit of the period, demonstrates the significance of the Irish question in shaping the course of British politics, and contains valuable and well-researched material on early nineteenth-century Ireland and the background and character of Irish legislation passed by Parliament. This is an

excellent book; it deserves a place beside the O'Faolain and Lecky portraits of the creator of modern Irish nationalism.

Marquette University

LAWRENCE J. McCaffrey

JAMES LARKIN: IRISH LABOUR LEADER, 1876-1947. By *Emmet Larkin*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1965. Pp. xviii, 334. \$7.50.)

It is surprising that this is the first biography of "Big Jim" Larkin, syndicalist, Irish nationalist, German secret agent in Mexico, a founder of the American Communist party, victim of the Red Scare, and delegate to the Comintern. This well-written work by Professor Emmet Larkin (no relation) is the first valuable contribution to the development of Irish urban labor history since the publication of J. D. Clarkson's *Labour and Nationalism in Ireland* (1925). Especially informative in its treatment of Irish labor agitation between 1907 and 1914, this biography is filled with many other interesting details such as the influence on the American Communist movement of the "bastard Irish strain of British Socialism" through the involvement of Larkin, Eadmonn MacAlpine, and Jack Carney. With quotations from Larkin's revivalistic oratory, full of Joycean vitriol, "Big Jim's" tornadolike personality is painted in glaring colors.

A product of the Liverpool slums, Larkin was forced to work at the age of eleven. He maintained that his formal education in a poor English Catholic school taught him "the truth of eternal justice" and "the fear of God" but that he found in the world no fatherhood of God but only a society of hyenas. At sixteen he joined the Liverpool branch of the Independent Labour party and for the next fifteen years was one of the leading and most militant British Socialists, campaigning for higher wages and cautioning temperance and ascetic determination among his union members.

Professed Socialist, Irish nationalist, and Roman Catholic, Larkin failed to see any inherent conflicts, although more orthodox believers disagreed. Syndicalist Socialism, however, was the driving force in his life. He attacked the parochial and intolerant attitude of many Irish nationalists toward Englishmen. When, in his "Fight to Save the Kiddies" during the great lockout in Dublin in 1913 by sending the children of the strikers to English homes, Archbishop Walsh of Dublin accused Larkin of trying to "pervert" their faith in the homes of Protestants and atheists, Larkin pointed to the hypocrisy of the archbishop in failing to assist the "21,000 families living five in a room in Dublin." Middle-class Dublin Catholics applauded the archbishop's sending patrols of priests to the docks to prevent the children's departure. On the other hand, American Socialists were later suspicious of Larkin's religion. Despite Larkin's efforts, after national independence the Irish labor movement, according to the author, was "pressed by an intolerant nationalism and an aggressive Catholicism" and "gave up the ghost of Socialism."

Larkin has written a sympathetic but balanced study of a dissenter constantly at odds with his times. Although the text is well documented, a bibliography would have been helpful. This engaging biography merits an enthusiastic endorsement.

Catholic University of America

JOSEPH M. HERNON, JR.

UN MISSIONNAIRE DE LA CONTRE-RÉFORME: SAINT PIERRE FOURIER ET L'INSTITUTION DE LA CONGRÉGATION DE NOTRE-DAME. By *H. Derréal*. Preface by *Philippe Ariès*. [Civilisation d'hier et d'aujourd'hui.] ([Paris:] Librairie Plon, 1965. Pp. v, 7-478.)

MADAME Hélène Derréal is also Mère Marie de la Miséricorde and enjoys the distinction of being the first nun in France to win the coveted *doctorat ès lettres*. That she well deserves this honor is evident from the extent of her publications and their scholarly thoroughness. Her major subject has been the life and work of St. Peter Fourier who, although a mere parish priest of Mattaincourt in Lorraine, occupied an important position in the Counter Reformation during the early seventeenth century. The present volume, it should be noted, is but one of several that the author plans to publish concerning Fourier and is limited to one phase of his work, the founding of the Congregation of Notre Dame. Realizing that religious knowledge and belief might be significantly propagated through Catholic education, Fourier early in his career determined to establish a teaching order of nuns who would combine religious life with active instruction of girls as the Jesuits were doing among young men. The book examines in exhaustive detail the vicissitudes of the order from its foundation by Fourier in 1598 to the winning of papal approval in 1628. If all her projected works on Fourier are as thorough as this one, the series should provide innumerable insights into the practical functioning of the Counter Reformation and the many obstacles facing those who sought to advance its cause.

In tracing the history of the congregation's first three decades, Derréal rightly emphasizes the conditions that produced the organization, its great novelty in the period, and the enormous hostility that it encountered. Although Lorraine was not significantly infected with Protestantism, widespread laxity among both regular and secular clergy and the irreligion of the populace caused the area to be regarded by Catholic leaders as a *pays de mission*. Fourier's approach to restoring the faith through religious instruction of girls ran counter to established social attitudes since the prevailing view was that girls should either marry or be immured in convents. The idea that they might combine the religious life with active direction of the young was revolutionary in the society of the period. Not only might the temptations of the flesh and the outside world overcome the good intentions of many; some might even return to their families and reclaim their property rights, upsetting many a plan for succession to the patrimony. The local hierarchy in Lorraine strongly opposed Fourier's organization, and, when this failed, sought to control it. As for Rome, the project for years faced insuperable opposition to Fourier's "female Jesuits" of which the papacy wanted no part. The extremely devious and extended maneuvers through which Fourier's supporters finally overcame all these obstacles and won papal approval are recounted in detail and form the substance of the book. With considerable ingenuousness, Derréal does not hesitate to expose the questionable motives of the opposition and the frequently unscrupulous methods that Fourier's supporters were obliged to use, all in a good cause.

The weaknesses of the book are those of style and organization rather than research and understanding. The author might well have placed greater emphasis

upon the more important elements of her narrative and suppressed many details. As it is, she moves from such minor matters as squabbles in a given house to negotiations in Rome and back again without significant weighting of the more important developments. The essentials are there, but the reader must find them for himself. Even Fourier's exact role is frequently lost in the maze of maneuvers. The book nevertheless significantly contributes to knowledge of the Counter Reformation and throws much light upon the realities of the movement at the local level.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

SAINT VINCENT DE PAUL AND THE FORMATION OF CLERICS. By Maurice A. Roche, C.M. [Studia Friburgensia, New Series, Number 39.] (Fribourg: University Press. 1964. Pp. xix, 202.)

THIS doctoral dissertation of the University of Fribourg was written by a priest whose religious congregation has been operating seminaries for the training of the Catholic clergy since 1642, the number under Vincentian auspices having reached 104 by 1960. The author has not escaped some of the hallmarks that so frequently accompany doctoral dissertations, such as a wooden and repetitious literary style. By the same token, however, he has surmounted the handicap that too often mars the work of members of religious orders when they write of their founders: the lack of a critical approach. He is quite frank, for example, in stating Vincent de Paul's failure to set for his men any premium on intellectual distinction, as well as his lack of any well-conceived plan for seminary instruction. A second service that the author has rendered is to delineate Vincent's clear departure from the seminary pattern adumbrated by the Council of Trent's legislation of July 1563. Vincent found it quite unsatisfactory to take boys of twelve, the age specified by Trent, and, as he said in a letter of May 1644, the Tridentine system had succeeded neither in France nor in Italy, but it was a different matter, he remarked, "to take students from twenty to twenty-five or thirty years old." In Father Roche's judgment Vincent's most important contribution to priestly training was his retreats for ordinands, which grew out of a request made of him in 1628 by the bishop of Beauvais. These retreats, rather than the decrees of Trent, prepared the way for the later seminaries of the Sulpicians, Vincentians, Eudists, and others.

The evolution from the ten-day retreats for ordination to the fully developed major seminaries of Vincent's last years is traced here in considerable detail from a number of hitherto unknown manuscript sources as well as from the printed literature. The book will prove useful at this particular time when Catholic seminaries are undergoing the most searching scrutiny they have ever experienced. Thus the book will not only assist students interested in the history of the movement, but will also be helpful to administrators and faculties, not to mention the priest and the seminarian who, as Pope Paul VI remarked on the occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of Trent's seminary decrees, should be men prepared to bear witness to Christ before the world, and if they are to do this they "must be trained in the virtue of truth in word and action. . . ."

University of San Francisco

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

CLASSES ET LUTTES DE CLASSES EN FRANCE AU DÉBUT DU XVII^e SIÈCLE. By *Robert Mandrou*. [Università degli Studi di Pisa. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Storia della Facoltà di Lettere, Number 1.] (Florence: Casa Editrice G. D'Anna. 1965. Pp. 125. L. 800.)

In this set of reflective, published lectures, Mandrou uses the term "class conflict" as a model for examining relations between nobility, bourgeoisie (including the robe), and popular (peasant and lower urban) elements in France from about 1615 to about 1652. For the author, class conflict denotes a political or social struggle between rather homogeneous social groups in which there are clear objectives and class consciousness. He argues that the nobility became acutely class conscious in the early seventeenth century, in reaction to the upward thrust of the bourgeoisie. His contention that there was a class conflict between these groups follows awkwardly a discussion of the middle class that does not fit his model. The middle class, he says, is ambivalent toward lower classes and seeks to move into the nobility rather than replacing the nobles with bourgeois values. Mandrou stresses the union of urban and rural popular uprisings, but sees no class conflict here, owing to lack of political maturity and consciousness. Above all, Mandrou's lower classes are profoundly loyal to clergy and monarchy. All three points are undoubtedly valid to a degree, although one will question whether urban-rural unity is the norm, and it can be argued that the emotionalism of "blind force" is as important to class conflict as class consciousness.

In a short review it is impossible to do justice to all the nuances of Mandrou's arguments, and of his very definition of class conflict. These essays are provocative, and they do force us to pause and reflect in the midst of our scramble to dissect seventeenth-century French society. Two long excerpts from the manuscript *cahiers* of the Third Estate in 1615 form a useful appendix. The scholarly apparatus is brief and uneven; it comes as an afterthought. One will leave this book feeling a need to return to Mousnier, Bourgeon, and even Porchnev (whom Mandrou attacks explicitly and implicitly). Mousnier's patron-client thesis, which strikes at the heart of Mandrou's conceptualization, is ignored. Bourgeon dissects the term "bourgeoisie," while Mandrou avoids discussion of differentiation within the non-officier bourgeois groupings. There are also several factual errors, some minor, some important. Still, the reader should remember that this is a set of reflective essays, not a monograph.

Queen's University

A. LLOYD MOOTE

FRENCH EXPLORERS IN THE PACIFIC. Volume I, THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *John Dunmore*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 356. \$8.80.)

EXPLORATION in the Pacific, since the end of the eighteenth century, has been dominated by the name of Captain James Cook and, hence, by the English. This book will not diminish that domination for Cook was a giant of history, but it will amplify the picture of Pacific exploration and, for the first time in English at least, present the French contribution.

Like the English and the Spanish before them, the French of the early eight-

eenth century were seeking a "Great Southern Continent," which they preferred to call "Gonneville Land." The name went back to 1503 when Binot Paulmyer of the Buschet de Gonneville family, after leaving Honfleur and thinking he was somewhere around the Cape of Good Hope, was blown about by violent storms and hopelessly lost. He reached a haven in "Gonneville Land," refitted, was well treated, and sailed off into the blue. His location is not known, but the name stuck and became the chimera of the "Great Southern Continent," which led Frenchmen on voyage after voyage of peculiarly sympathetic ineptness.

Late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century voyages to the Pacific began as illicit trading ventures to Spanish America, and some of them ended as circumnavigations. Profit was the sole objective; the day of formal scientific exploration was not yet reached. In his introduction the author delves into these many little-known voyages and points out that between 1698 and 1725 a total of 168 French ships were in the South Seas.

This exceedingly illuminating introduction is followed by sections on the formal expeditions, both private and national, of the century. Bougainville, De Surville, Marion du Fresne, Kerguelen, La Pérouse, D'Entrecasteaux, and Marchand are discussed in sequence. The important thing about this book is that the author uses not only such English versions of these voyages as have been published, but all French sources and journals by other people, of which there are many. This enormously enhances the scope of the book.

For the first time we have in English an adequate coverage of the French voyages: their discoveries, their difficulties, their disappointments, their contributions to science, geography, and navigation. This will long remain the only adequate source book on the subject in English. Another feature that will soon be obvious to the reader familiar only with the English accounts: there were many more ships in the Pacific and sailing around the world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than one would suspect.

This book is so packed with new facts from original manuscript sources that we can only praise the author for his diligence and scholarship; he did much work with microfilm in New Zealand from manuscripts in French archives. We anticipate the completion of this important project with the publication of the French voyages in the nineteenth century.

Peabody Museum of Salem

ERNEST S. DODGE

MARSHAL VILLARS AND THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

By *Claude C. Sturgill*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1965. Pp. x, 175. \$5.75.)

In the preparation of this book the author has consulted numerous documents in the *Archives de la Guerre*, the *Archives de la Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*, the Archives Nationales, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, besides studying unpublished material concerning the Treaty of Rastatt contained in the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv at Vienna. He is also familiar with the published sources and principal monographs, though he seems not to have utilized Max Braubach's writings on Prince Eugene. After a brief review of Villars's early career, Professor Sturgill begins his main narrative with Villars's campaign as second-in-command in Italy

in 1701. Thereafter Villars is followed step by step for the whole course of the War of the Spanish Succession, including the suppression of the Camisard revolt, through Malplaquet and Denain, and ending with the negotiation with Eugene of the Treaty of Rastatt in 1714.

French military historians are demonstrating these days what can be done as a result of asking new questions and applying new research techniques. A notable example of this is André Corvisier, *L'Armée française de la fin du XVII^e siècle au ministère de Choiseul: Le Soldat* (1964). Sturgill, however, does not seem to have posed any especially new questions of his source material. This gives his monograph a rather old-fashioned air. The book is largely concerned with establishing accurate battle order information and Villars's day-to-day movements. Sturgill is indeed able "to demonstrate the surprising mobility of the various armies involved and to show how these armies were highly adaptable to trench, siege, and line-of-battle operations." The reader's understanding and appreciation of this demonstration would have been greatly enhanced by the inclusion of maps. Part of what the author feels he has accomplished in this book is best expressed in his own words: "Denain is finally placed in its proper place in history. . . . The reason for Villars' disgrace in 1703 and his unyielding attitude [*sic*] in regard to royal orders that he thought incorrect was clear only after close reading of the maze of documents cited in the bibliography. The thinking of Villars on the Camisard uprising, in which he was willing to try any method to end the revolt in order to return to royal favor without having to abase himself, is fully treated for the first time in Chapter 4. His attitudes toward men, material, and conquest are perhaps nowhere else set forth as clearly as in Chapter 5. . . ."

Dartmouth College

ARTHUR M. WILSON

THE IDEA OF ART AS PROPAGANDA IN FRANCE, 1750-1799: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF IDEAS. By *James A. Leith*. [University of Toronto Romance Series, Number 8.] ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 184. \$4.95.)

THIS is an attractively written and illustrated essay concerning the eighteenth-century psychological notion that the visual arts possess effective emotional power. After analyzing the artistic theories of Diderot and the Encyclopedists, Mr. Leith describes attempts by French royal officials to promote didactic art and by the revolutionaries to mobilize the fine arts after 1789. He concludes that the idea of art as propaganda was "sterile," not because it was ineffective in influencing the masses (he does not consider this question), but because his limited data show that only 5 per cent of the art exhibited at the *salons* of 1789-1799 depicted revolutionary themes. The reasons he advances for this "relative sterility" were political instability, financial limitations, ineffectiveness of the government art program, and tensions arising from such conflicting contemporary views of art as a political and social weapon versus art for its own sake.

Leith rouses his readers' expectations by promising new information on revolutionary propaganda art from "unexplored material." He disappoints them, citing familiar documents from the Bibliothèque Nationale's Deloynes Collection and seven dossiers (already thoroughly exploited by his predecessors) from the Ar-

chives Nationales's F¹⁷ series, instead of exploring the other 1,477 boxes of F¹⁷ and the immense riches of F⁴, F⁷, F¹³, F¹⁴, and F²¹. Leith consistently plays down the contributions of earlier French and American writers on the subject. The text is marred by numerous factual errors such as representing the crypto-Royalist, Boissy d'Anglas, as a sincere exponent of Robespierre's propaganda festivals and systematically confusing the Dantonist Louis-Pierre Dufourny with Léon Dufourny, elected to the institute under the Directory. The footnote citations contain a high percentage of errors and misprints. The "Essay on Sources" contains others, and its omissions and misleading or inaccurate statements are disturbing.

Leith does not study the effectiveness of propaganda art though he criticizes earlier investigators of revolutionary art for not doing so. He claims that "no writer has focussed his attention *wholly* on the development of the idea of art as propaganda [*italics mine*]" as if there were some special virtue in divorcing the idea from its application and from consideration of the political and moral influence of didactic art upon the audience for which it was designed. Leith's book is not the pioneering effort it purports to be, and it is far from being definitive; within its limitations, however, it provides a stimulating presentation of the subject for the nonspecialist.

University of Florida

DAVID L. DOWD

ANDRÉ CHÉNIER: HIS LIFE AND WORK, 1762-1794. By *Francis Scarfe*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 391. \$8.80.)

THE romantic and tragic story of the imprisonment and execution on the eve of Thermidor of the thirty-one-year-old poet André Chénier is a familiar tale, although often told, or sung in Giordano's opera, in highly fictionalized form. Interest in Chénier as a poet has, however, tended to overshadow interest in him as a political figure until recently, when Gérard Walter published his brief but scholarly *André Chénier, son milieu et son temps* (1947), and an edition of the *Œuvres complètes* appeared (1958). Now we have a much more detailed biography in English by Mr. Scarfe. The author's interest is primarily in Chénier as a writer, and the "work" tends to overshadow the "life." Much of the book is devoted to a meticulous yet broad-ranging literary criticism of the poet, who is presented as a bridge between the classical poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the romantics of the nineteenth century; this impressed me, but I am in no position to judge. Scarfe has also attempted to do justice to Chénier's political career. He has given us a much lengthier narrative than Walter's, and he has made good use of his literary insights in piecing together the scanty materials in both poetry and prose on Chénier's life. This is particularly true for the period prior to the Revolution, before Chénier came into political prominence as a skillful polemicist for the moderate, Feuillant opposition to the Jacobins during the crucial years 1790-1792. It was a losing battle for Chénier and his moderate friends, and, after the death of the King, Chénier retired from politics and returned to his poetry. But his activities were not forgotten: his name had appeared on a proscription list on August 10; he was arrested in March of 1794 and executed in July, just two days before the events of Thermidor, which probably would have saved him.

Scarfe's account of all this is historically sound, with several exceptions when he yields to the temptation to imagine the facts and to accept untrustworthy legend concerning Chénier. His work is further marred when he allows an understandable bias against the Jacobins to lead him to use such trite epithets as "fishwives" for the objects of Chénier's denunciations. But these are minor criticisms; this is a useful book.

University of Arkansas

GORDON H. McNEIL

LE RÉSEAU D'ANTRAIQUES ET LA CONTRE-RÉVOLUTION, 1791-1793. By *Jacqueline Chaumié*. [Histoire des mentalités.] ([Paris:] Plon. 1965. Pp. 471. 31.20 fr.)

By her discovery of archives in Madrid containing a large collection of letters written by the Comte d'Antraigues to Las Casas, Spanish ambassador to Venice, Mlle. Chaumié has filled a gap in the history of the counterrevolution. Hitherto, the Dropmore Papers and a collection at the Public Record Office have been the chief sources of information about this active counterrevolutionary, from 1793 on. The present volume covers the period from the flight of the King through his execution, and Chaumié is now working on the sequel from the Madrid papers, which will carry the story through 1796. In her introduction the author describes the informants of the Comte and the role of D'Antraigues himself, and provides extensive internal criticism of the reliability of the correspondence.

Only three implications of the book can be emphasized in the present review. First, Chaumié summarizes the ideology, rather than the purely political and military activity of the counterrevolution; hence, the volume belongs in a series on "Mentality." She distinguishes three types: the Royalists, who advocated absolutism, led by Breteuil; the Constitutionalists, who upheld the limited monarchy of the Constitution of 1791, but who went along with D'Antraigues in his belief that Louis XVI was not sincere in his support; and the ideology of D'Antraigues and his followers, who advocated a benevolent monarchy controlled by the aristocracy. She traces the development of these three ideologies, modifications in response to events, with Valmy a key to changes, and mutual hostilities among the groups, which may help explain revolutionary victories in 1793-1794. Second, the volume should stimulate a search for more such correspondence. I would have liked to have read some typical examples from the correspondence with Las Casas and to have seen a facsimile of one bulletin in order to facilitate identification in public or private archives. Third, this correspondence introduced some new angles on Jacobin leaders, such as Pétion, that will bear checking. D'Antraigues was convinced that the influence and wealth of the Duke of Orléans (Philippe-Égalité) constituted a dominant factor in 1792-1793, more significant than any known facts would now warrant. The most challenging new fact in this volume is the belief of D'Antraigues in the existence of a secret committee of the Jacobins, with spies reporting on its meetings. Chaumié also projects from the correspondence a member of the future Committee of Public Safety as relaying information to D'Antraigues. These two points must certainly be investigated.

While, therefore, this closely reasoned and critical use of counterrevolutionary correspondence helps to explain attitudes and action both within and outside

France, it raises many new questions that are important for an understanding of Jacobinism in 1791-1793.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

PARIS PENDANT LA TERREUR: RAPPORTS DES AGENTS SECRETS DU MINISTRE DE L'INTÉRIEUR. Volume VI, 1^{er}-11 GERMINAL AN II (21-31 MARS 1794), and Supplement, 9 SEPTEMBRE 1793-27 NIVÔSE AN II (16 JANVIER 1794). By *Pierre Caron*. Revised, annotated, and completed by *Michel Eude*. (Paris: Librairie G. Klincksieck for the Société de l'Histoire de France. 1964. Pp. iii, 358. 36 fr.)

THIS last volume of the collection of the reports of secret agents of the Minister of the Interior during the Terror begun by the late Pierre Caron in 1910 is divided into two parts. The first consists of 133 reports from 21 agents during the last 11 days of March 1794, a climactic span beginning with the trial of the Hébertists and ending with the arrest of Danton. The mission of these agents was to report the state of opinion in Paris. They mingled with the crowds in the streets, the parks, the markets, the cafés; they attended the theaters, the assemblies of the sections, the political clubs, the sessions of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Their reports have unique value. Eyewitness records, written a few hours after the incident or scene described, they reflect with an immediacy lacking in most sources the actualities of the Terror. Their scope is Paris, including such seamy items as gambling, counterfeiting, mendicancy, prostitution, and filth in the streets. Two themes, however, are dominant: the Hébertists and the food shortage. The agents were constant attendants at the Hébertist drama, and in some of their best reporting they described scenes at the *Palais de Justice* where the Hébertists were on trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal: the immense crowds, the appearance of the accused, and tempestuous episodes, such as that on March 21 when the people broke down the gates of the *Palais*, broke the pikes of guards, and trampled women. Wherever they went the trial was the talk of the town, and they agreed that public opinion was overwhelmingly against the Hébertists, though one agent cogently added "sois crainte ou vérité." When the Hébertists were executed on March 24, nine of the ten agents who reported that day were present to provide some of the best accounts we have of the event. As for the food shortage, report after report depicted Paris menaced by famine: the long lines, mostly women, formed before dawn at the food shops, often to be turned away empty-handed hours later; violence in the markets, where people were knocked down and crushed in the throng; the blatant evasion of price controls.

The second part of this volume contains one hundred reports from a single agent, Prévost, the first dated September 7, 1793, the last January 16, 1794, unavailable when the volumes covering this period were published. The majority of these reports concern food supply, prices, and related matters. Prévost was one of the less literate agents, but he was an assiduous observer in the market places, and his reports present a poignant picture of the economic crisis of the fall and winter of 1793.

West Gloucester, Massachusetts

DONALD GREER

REPUBLIC OR RESTORATION IN FRANCE? 1794-7. THE POLITICS OF FRENCH ROYALISM, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE ACTIVITIES OF A. B. J. D'ANDRÉ. By *W. R. Fryer*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1965. Pp. xix, 330. 50s.)

FOR a partial answer to the question embodied in its title, this monograph reconstructs the action of a constitutional and parliamentary royalist, D'André, and his political patron, William Wickham, the British envoy in Bern. The account is based upon some sixty unpublished letters from D'André and upon Wickham's reports to Grenville, excellently analyzed. Many quotations, of which a few are *in extenso*, display much of the evidence.

At the end of 1796, while in Switzerland, D'André became the leader of a concerted effort by members of the French legislative councils to use republican institutions to subvert the republic and restore monarchy. The project collapsed in the *coup* of Fructidor (September 1797). Fryer argues convincingly that D'André became involved in it because of his previous relations with Wickham, that he had no connection with the King's Agents in Paris until a late stage, that he was the chosen leader of the monarchist legislators (joining them in Paris in February 1797), as well as Wickham's trusted dispenser of funds. The "Anglo-royalist conspiracy," as Pariset called it, has never been examined in such detail. The story is well told and amply elaborated; its clarity is heightened by a narrow focus upon a single series of episodes reflected in the Wickham papers. There is no extensive discussion of the King's Agents, Pichegru's treasonable negotiations with Condé, the *Instituts Philanthropiques*, or other royalist manifestations.

D'André's efforts occupy the last two-thirds of the volume. They are preceded by a reconsideration of French royalism and its prospects in 1795 and early 1796 as they appeared to Wickham and Mallet du Pan. This part does not compare in authority or solidity with what follows. The documentary base is limited; the view of the French Republic is that of outsiders whose disapproval is not always balanced by their insight; and significant work by other historians is not explicitly taken into account (for example, Suratteau's article on the elections of the Year IV, which corrects the historians relied on by Fryer). Suggestive and interesting, this part of the book has the character of an essay intended to define a context for the subsequent sharper and narrower focus.

Stanford University

PHILIP DAWSON

ANATOLE FRANCE: THE POLITICS OF SKEPTICISM. By *Carter Jefferson*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 294. \$8.00.)

HERE is one more study of the intellectual climate of a time and place viewed through the works and ideas of an important protagonist, one of the chief literary figures of the *fin de siècle*, somewhat neglected today because uncongenial to our earnest and populist age.

"It would be a great gift to teach men how to enjoy ideas and play with them instead of playing with actions which always injure others," Alfred de Vigny once wrote. "A mandarin harms no one: he enjoys ideas and a cup of tea." It is the

story of such a mandarin that Professor Jefferson tells or, at least, the tale of his political evolution. For the subtitle is borne out by the careful study of a supremely intelligent man whose regard for thought drove him to action, to political commitment, and to a whole series of gestures more or less consistent with his values and his tastes.

But if politics provides the framework of Jefferson's study, skepticism provides its running thread. Anatole France expresses his skepticism about the social order he began by endorsing with *Les Autels de la Peur* (1884) in the *Rôtisserie* of Jérôme Cogniard (1892); his skepticism about the establishment to which he had acceded in the *Histoire Contemporaine* of Monsieur Bergeret (1897-1900); his disillusion with his erstwhile Dreyfusard allies in *Penguin Island* (1908); his pessimistic charity (or vice versa) in *La Révolte des Anges* (1913); and, finally, his doubts of the *Voie Glorieuse* (1916) briefly envisaged, when he called (but discreetly) for a "peace without victory" in 1917. Every descent into the arena, every departure from doubt into a moment's idealism, was followed by return to the Pyrrhonic fold, each spasm of passing passion, Boulangist, Dreyfusard, or patriotic, by an ironic shrug.

The stylist and storyteller whom Mauriac and Maurras could both admire was too intelligent not to see through the stupidities of any political commitment and intelligent enough to stay committed all the same, but in too lucid, too detached a fashion to reap the worldly benefits of identification with a particular camp. Intelligence, as Jean Levaillant has recently observed, was his lyricism. Until intelligence comes back into fashion, we can expect France to remain out of it.

University of California, Los Angeles

EUGEN WEBER

LE MOUVEMENT SYNDICAL EN FRANCE, 1871-1921: ESSAI BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE. By Robert Brécy. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Société, mouvements sociaux et idéologies. Third Series, Bibliographies, Number 1.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1963. Pp. xxxvi, 217. Glds. 28.)

THIS can be a useful reference work if the author's self-imposed limits are clearly understood. Brécy is quite narrowly concerned with the class struggle-oriented, nonpolitical union movement, for which he seeks with marked zeal to establish a sort of repertoire of the "indispensable primary materials" available for a reinvestigation *au fond*. A long introduction spells out his reasons for undertaking this task (above and beyond its preparation for a seminar at the University of Paris) and sets forth in elaborate detail his highly worked plan of organization. The brief survey of the labor movement, 1871-1921, hits the high points of this history comparatively dispassionately, although here, as throughout the book, the author keeps within the frame of what might be called the "irresistible revolutionary impulse of organized French labor."

Because Brécy finds it impossible to separate the "corporate" from the "political" in the labor movement of 1871-1886, he omits detailed study of these years. Consequently, the real heart of his book lies in a meticulous congress-by-congress treatment of French trade-union and *Bourses du travail* assemblies, 1886-1914. The bibliographical treatment of the minutes of these congresses is of unques-

tioned value. To know all the French repositories where they may be found, together with appropriate call numbers, is no small gain. Also the inclusion of references to the less worked over Archives of the Prefecture of Police is very helpful. Owing to the absence of regular congresses during the 1914-1918 war years, Brécy here falls back again upon the narrative essay device. The individual congress treatment is resumed for the postwar gatherings that culminated in the celebrated 1921 schism of the CGT. In Brécy's handling of the 1918-1921 congresses it is impossible to miss his sympathy for the advocates of affiliation with the Third International.

Copious footnotes testify to the author's intent of thoroughness and contain much valuable information. In his notes, moreover, Brécy is at great pains to point out errors of detail in many of the well-known authors: Dolléans, Lefranc, Paul Louis, Zévaès, and others.

Appended materials give a helpful synoptic table of French and international congresses and a review of elected officers of federal and confederal bodies. There is also a useful list of French syndicalist periodicals, although for reference purposes the chronological rather than the alphabetical order is to be regretted. Finally, a forty-page bibliography in the conventional sense is of very broad scope; here the author stresses that he is selective rather than inclusive. Some additional documentary references are given, but the items relate mostly to printed material, and the failure to separate primary sources from secondary works is perhaps unfortunate. The bibliography rests generally upon French publications, with only a scattering from other countries. The effect of Brécy's general bibliography is to emphasize, in my opinion, that the real merit of his study lies in his work of correlating the *comptes rendus* of the 1886-1914 congresses.

American University

JEAN T. JOUGHIN

FORCES RELIGIEUSES ET ATTITUDES POLITIQUES DANS LA FRANCE CONTEMPORAINE (COLLOQUE DE STRASBOURG, 23-25 MAI 1963). Under the direction of *René Rémond*. [Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Number 130.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1965. Pp. ix, 397. 25 fr.)

THIS volume assembles the reports and proceedings of a colloquium held in May 1963 by a group of French specialists engaged in discussing the changing relationships between organized religion and politics in France in the years since 1945. Attempting first to examine some of the fundamental attitudes toward politics and political life to be found in Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism, the papers go on to explore the impact of the three major religions on such facets of political activity in France as political parties, the schools, the trade-unions, the press, and even the shaping of foreign policy. The conclusions are somewhat tentative, and the book is more valuable for the questions it asks than for those it answers. For one thing, the nature of "religious forces" is laboriously explored, yet there still remains considerable disagreement over the importance of its various components. In the case of Catholicism, how does one distinguish the relative influence in politics of the hierarchy, the various Catholic lay groups, the Catholic press, the Catholic trade-unions? What is the influence of a Protestantism that

styles itself *L'Église sentinelle*? Who speaks for French Judaism? None of these questions are fully resolved.

Yet some of the suggested conclusions on a variety of subjects will interest students of French politics. Many of the participants note a shift of French Catholicism from the traditionalism, nationalism, and authoritarianism with which it was once identified and see the hierarchy as becoming less directly interventionist and more pluralistic in its outlook than ever before; perhaps, some would maintain, the new orientation reflects a reaction to the collaborationism of the Vichy years, which left the hierarchy embarrassed and humiliated. French Protestantism is categorized as still identified with republican, individualist, and progressive traditions, but at the same time its lack of enthusiasm for the post-war European unity movement receives proper attention. Interestingly, if M. Rabi is to be believed, French Judaism seems to be moving politically toward conservatism for two external reasons: the growth of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and the emergence of the state of Israel.

Most illuminating is the discussion by René Rémond of a fourth major religion in France: anticlericalism. He finds signs that it is on the wane, especially in its older, virulent, and often scurrilous form. The incomplete separation of the churches and the state, the war and the resistance movement, the close ties with the Left of the MRP (distinctly a Catholic party but not a party of the Church) have all contributed; an occasional development shows, however, that the issue is still far from dead. One novelty, sad to relate, is the emergence of an anticlericalism of the Right that has attacked the Church for betraying the cause of *Algérie française*.

One would have liked some more extended discussion of church-state relationships under the Fifth Republic where political problems and the style of politics are so different from preceding years; perhaps the watershed for the colloquium should have been 1958, not 1945. A word of praise is due the compilers of the bibliographical appendixes; they have provided an invaluable guide for continued research in the area opened for exploration by the symposium.

Duke University

JOEL COLTON

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD. Edited by *Allan Nevins* and *Howard M. Ehrmann*. SPAIN: A MODERN HISTORY. By *Rhea Marsh Smith*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 508, xxxiv. \$8.75.)

WHAT is a "modern" history of Spain? By reason of its subtitle and inclusion in the Michigan series, this full-length account by Professor Smith of Rollins College, which runs from the Iberians to the abandonment of the Moroccan bases in 1961, inescapably imposes assessment in terms of its modernity. Except in one direction, however, this quality is not readily perceived. Certainly there is nothing specifically modern in the considerable amount of factual information, by no means always reliable or up to date; or in the predominantly regnal periodization and biographical, political, and military stress, although this is partially offset by interspersed chapters on general civilization somewhat heavily ballasted with catalogues of writers and artists; or, finally, in the lack of analysis, synthesis, or in-

terpretation. But the assignment of two-fifths of the available space to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, fully as much as is given the traditionally more emphasized three centuries between the Catholic kings and the Constitution of Cádiz, and twice as much as the ancient and medieval sections together, does give the book a distinctly modern weighting. This is highly commendable, and in surveying this vital century and a half since Ferdinand VII's return Smith provides a clear, balanced, occasionally discerning review of the successive Bourbon restorations and dictatorships, the Carlist Wars, the monarchy's repeated failures of leadership, the rise and fall of the two republics, and the shifting lines of power and direction in the twenty-five years under Franco. The important studies of Carr, Jackson, Hennessey, and Kiernan have appeared too recently to be used, and treatment of such central topics as industrialization, the widening gap between Church and lower classes, the army's political role, *federalismo*, anarchism, syndicalism, and socialism is not impressive, but as a broad running narrative of events this is a useful survey for the general reader.

As for the other three-fifths of the volume, this is not "modern" at all, due partly to imperfect familiarity with the pertinent literature of the last several decades—a weakness apparent also in the terminal bibliography with its many archaic or inferior titles, astonishing omissions, and, incidentally, its high rate of typographical errors. It is difficult to understand how Muslim Spain can be discussed without discernible use of Dozy, Lévi-Provençal, or Cagigas; or medieval Christian Spain without reference to Sánchez Albornoz, González, Lacarra, P. E. Russell, or Américo Castro; or the reigns of Charles V and Philip II (for which the usual chapter on internal developments is surprisingly missing) without the indispensable guidance of Hamilton, Vicens Vives, Braudel, and Bataillon. The eighteenth-century chapters, probably the weakest of the book, appraise this age of fundamental and dynamic change as one of "economic and political stagnation," a judgment that fails to display acquaintance with the very different conclusions reached by Herr and Sarrailh.

In general, handling of institutional and constitutional problems is disappointing; social and economic change, while mentioned, too often hangs in a vacuum; and the Church—except for that jaded favorite, the Inquisition—is rarely discussed with success. In comparison with the recent publications of Elliott and Lynch, much of Smith's book has in fact an old-fashioned air. As a whole, it does not supersede other current (and also unsatisfactory) one-volume accounts, and in no firm sense can it be regarded as meeting the requirements for a short, "modern" history of Spain.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

EL CONDE-DUQUE Y CATALUÑA. By *Eulogio Zudaire Huarte*. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Historia Moderna; distrib. by Librería Científica Medinaceli, Madrid. 1964. Pp. 506. 240 ptas.)

THIS book makes a genuine contribution to detailed knowledge of the Catalanian crisis of 1621–1640, but unfortunately little to understanding. Analysis (unnecessarily separated from narrative) is often unrealistic, inconsistent, marred by partiality: Madrid's poverty caused decisions but not delays; Spanish frontier

policy was strategy, French invasion dishonorable; and so forth. Zudaire is shaky on foreign literature: for example, he lists Chaunu, Hamilton, and others, but for silver imports cites Trevor Davis [*sic*], who, like others, is listed more strangely still in bibliography and index.

Zudaire has industriously mined the documents of key institutions and posts, but reveals little about their scope of authority or relative power and importance, knowledge of which we lack and must have to understand actions. As Olivares appears only sporadically, one might expect the author to have learned something about the actual power of the *privanza*, but he tells us nothing; having dealt exhaustively with institutions' actions, he seems not to care about their nature.

Regrettably, the Catalan Revolt was not an objective event; it was a noble fight to defend either the Catalan nation or the Spanish state. Of these partisan versions of history, the pro-Catalan is superior on two counts. It at least recognizes a coherent (if evil) opposition, while pro-Castilians typically do not. When Catalans defensively blame others for their own failings, for example, Zudaire can see only "un fondo de ironía burlesca en estas manifestaciones." Secondly, the pro-Catalan doctrinal bent is not nearly so ahistorical as the pro-Castilian. After two generations of civil war, European tides favored strong central government, and Spain perhaps needed it badly—sufficient grounds for disapproving of schisms. But the offense was against the pragmatic absolutism of that century, not the doctrinaire authoritarianism of this. Yet Zudaire condemns the *sediciosos* [*sic*] not for treason or lese majesty (which make contemporary sense) or simple divisiveness, but for "crime against authority." Objection to this is historical, not political: not to applying a particular modern criterion but any modern criterion in selection and evaluation regarding an event 325 years and several developmental phases ago. To judge the reasonableness of events, as distinct from their consequences, by modern standards is the opposite of historicity; to bring God into the matter as a supporter is the height of arrogance.

Still, this is a catalogue of reservations and complaints about a valuable book. It recounts enough detail on official actions to make it essential reading for historians of the period.

Tulane University

CHARLES H. CARTER

GUERRA DE LA INDEPENDENCIA: ESTUDIOS. Volume I. By J. García Prado et al. [II Congreso Histórico Internacional de la Guerra de la Independencia y su Época. Institución "Fernando el Católico," Publication Number 381.] (Saragossa: the Institución. 1964. Pp. 785.)

If only because it contains some thirty separate contributions, this volume does not lend itself easily to general characterization. The subject matter is the resistance offered by the Spaniards to the French occupation during the years 1808-1814. The shorter chapters merely reprint, with little commentary, letters found in municipal or family archives. The more ambitious chapters offer detailed geographical, chronological, and military descriptions of such important encounters between French invaders and Spanish defenders as the Battle of Bailén and the siege of Cádiz. Most of the papers were read at the Second International Congress of the War of Independence, held in Saragossa in 1964, and they are filled with the

inflated rhetoric of patriotic orations. We learn that on June 6, 1808, at Valdepeñas, "certain women also participated in the attack, and that the gracious and beautiful Juana Galán, known as 'La Galana,' distinguishing herself particularly by her violence and courage, defying all danger, and armed with a shillelagh, at the gate of her own house, killed not a few soldiers as the latter fell from their horses." The longer the speech, the more names and nicknames are supplied; the more heroic anecdotes, the more citations from military proclamations; the more songs defying Joseph Bonaparte, the more descriptions of archetypical peasants, monks, and soldiers playing archetypical roles in the defense of *patria y religión*. There are no critical apparatus, no integration of the material of the separate essays, and no general interpretation of the six-year struggle against the French (other than in the form of conventional patriotic slogans). There are a few chapters containing demographic and economic information for local areas, but on the whole these studies appear deliberately to ignore the methods of modern historiography that were introduced into Spain by the late Jaime Vicens Vives. Unfortunately there exists no clearly organized and conscientiously documented history of the national resistance against the French. Galdós' *Episodios Nacionales* offer keen insight and serious interpretation, but as with all novels, the documentation is not listed, and the reader can never be sure just where truth ends and fiction begins.

The present volume of *Estudios* may be likened to a mountain of unrefined ore. Someday a patient historian who is engaged in preparing a documented history of this major era in Spanish history may find worth-while nuggets of information therein.

University of California, La Jolla

GABRIEL JACKSON

LES ARCHIVES GÉNÉRALES DE SIMANCAS ET L'HISTOIRE DE LA BELGIQUE (IX^e-XIX^e SIÈCLES). Volume I, SECRETARÍA DE ESTADO, NEGOCIACIÓN DE FLANDES. Liasses 496 à 634. By Maurice Van Durme. [Collection de Chroniques belges inédites et de Documents inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de la Belgique, Number 60.] (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'Histoire. 1964. Pp. xxiii, 733.)

THIS repertory was commissioned in 1957. To have compiled the thousands of references it contains and to have seen a book of such proportions through the processes of publication within less than seven years is more than merely a commendable achievement. This first volume pertains primarily to the reign of Philip II of Spain, with a few references that antedate 1556 and a limited number referring to the first years of the Age of Philip III. Although designed, as the title indicates, to direct researchers interested in Spanish relations with the Lowlands, scholars concerned with wider aspects of the history of the sixteenth century will wish to consult the volume and will obviously do so with profit.

Van Durme has painstakingly examined in some way the contents of each *liasse* for the *Secretaría de Estado*. It has obviously been impossible in most cases to indicate more than the general nature of the individual documents, sometimes noting only that they refer to finances, or to certain individuals, or, by omitting any meaningful description, labeling them as correspondence between certain

persons. Occasionally one is better informed as to content: in *liasse* 525, 5b, for example, one learns that Philip II wrote to the Duchess of Parma about matters concerning the French and Spanish ambassadors to the Holy See. In rare instances more expansive description is employed, as in describing what are surely most informing documents concerning the publisher Plantin.

Fortunately an admirable index has been provided. Printed in double columns this extends to over one hundred pages. It lists persons, places, institutions, and subjects. There are about ninety references to Elizabeth Tudor, while Mary Stuart commands but fourteen; the city of Brussels requires the space of two columns, with Ghent noted to a lesser degree in one. Even a casual reading of this index is a tantalizing occupation and, as the compiler surely hoped, makes one anxious to get hold of the documents themselves. This fine guide to treasures in the archives at Simancas is well printed on paper of good quality and designed with taste. The binding, however, appears to be fragile.

Northwestern University

GRAY C. BOYCE

THE PRINCIPAL WORKS OF SIMON STEVIN. Volume IV, THE ART OF WAR. Edited by *W. H. Schukking*. (Amsterdam: C. V. Swets & Zeitlinger. 1964. Pp. v, 525.)

Nor only historians of science, but military historians and those interested in the application of science to technology and of both to warfare will welcome Volume IV of this series, containing the Dutch mathematician's *Art of Fortification* (1594), illustrations from his *New Manner of Fortification by Means of Pivoted Suice Locks* (1617; the text, more relevant to engineering, will appear in Volume V), *Castrametatio, that is the Marking out of Army Camps* (1617), and *Of Besieging Towns and Fortresses* and *Of Pike Redoubts* (both ably recovered from scattered versions).

Schukking, a retired colonel of the Royal Dutch Engineers, has admirably traced and edited the various manuscript and printed texts. He deals convincingly with Stevin's sources, importance, and connection with Maurice of Nassau (eventually as quartermaster general), and with classical and old Dutch traditions. And he sensibly writes for his non-Dutch audience. Unfortunately, the translations of Stevin's texts and Schukking's thorough and critical introductions and footnotes demonstrate again, by transliteration, archaic English, and peculiar "equivalents," that translation should be to, not from, the native tongue. Further, except for drawings, one must question the desirability of facsimile reproduction of originals of such works; it adds little except price, limiting acquisition and use, and thus usefulness.

Stevin oddly combined virtues as engineer and faults as writer: with unpretentious pragmatism went frequently pompous verbosity; with orderly design, superfluous explanation; with good scientific background, a quaint historicity and an absurd nationalistic philology. The mathematical principles directly applied were usually elementary and frequently combined with practical considerations, as in his rejection of re-entering walls in *The Art of Fortification*. It was on practical grounds that he rejected sharp bastions (they were too fragile), closed gun positions (smoke hampered the gunners), and steep curtains (debris fell into the

ditch). Bastions were spaced empirically according to cannon range, which should overlap, and scour the curtains at the flattest possible angle to avoid shooting holes in them. Provision was made for difficult and special terrain and for the fortunes of war: for example, his outworks' vulnerability to fortress cannon was carefully provided. But his practical plans were impractical for his own time because they were too expensive; they had their greatest influence on Vauban, Coehoorn, and their generation.

The remaining writings here, however, reflect actual practice and realistic innovation about which Stevin, in his official position, was especially knowledgeable. They are of special interest regarding military usage. Stevin's designs for siege tools and other items will particularly interest those concerned with technology and war.

Tulane University

CHARLES H. CARTER

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES BELGES, 1920-1940. LA POLITIQUE DE SÉCURITÉ EXTÉRIEURE. Volume I, PÉRIODE 1920-1924. Published by *Ch. De Visscher* and *F. Vanlangenhove*. [Documents relatifs au statut international de la Belgique depuis 1830, Part 1.] (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'Histoire. 1964. Pp. 550.)

THIS first volume deals largely with Belgium's external security. The documents cover the period 1920-1924 in four chapters: revision of the treaty of 1839 that guaranteed Belgian neutrality; occupation of Frankfurt by French and Belgian troops in 1920; the Franco-Belgian military accord of 1920 and the abortive negotiations for an Anglo-Belgian guarantee pact, 1922-1924. The volume also includes a brief introduction by the editors and a useful chronological and subject listing of the 244 documents.

Chapter I contains some material on Dutch-Belgian negotiations concerning possible frontier rectifications, but does not have any cross references to early negotiations (July 1919-March 1920) and to the direct confrontation between Belgian claims on Dutch Zeeland and Limburg and to a revision of the Schelde Statute and Dutch objections. The Belgian Declaration of March 23, 1920, to the Committee of Fourteen is probably the most interesting item. It explains why Belgium could not accept a general promise for peace under League auspices as a valid substitute for the specific guarantees of the treaty of 1839. Another important series of dispatches deals with the Belgian request that the US extend to Belgium a "defensive guarantee."

The second chapter begins with dispatches pertaining to the Kapp *Putsch*. Later documents deal with the request of the restored German government to send troops into the Ruhr area to crush Bolshevik risings. Chapter III comprises the documents dealing with the Franco-Belgian military alliance, an issue that hinged largely on the settlement of the Luxembourg problem. Unsettled Dutch-Belgian relations further complicated matters, but a draft treaty was readied by July 1920. British authorities were divided. Poincaré thought it likely that Britain would ultimately join, but Lloyd George subsequently made clear to the Belgian Prime Minister that this would not be the case and predicted correctly that Germany would not be able to challenge the West for twenty years. When

the military accord was finally signed, the French were very pleased while the Belgian government stressed the defensive character of the pact.

The last chapter lacks references to earlier moves toward a Belgian-British pact such as Premier Delacroix's statement in November 1920 and the London visit of King Albert in 1921. The January 1922 conversations at Cannes between Jaspar, Curzon, and Briand showed substantial differences in their views. The fall of Briand further dimmed hopes for a tripartite agreement although Jaspar indicated readiness for bilateral treaties. British delaying tactics were conceded by Sir Eyre Crowe when he admitted to the Belgian ambassador that Britain was in no hurry to sign even a bilateral treaty since France would then consider itself sufficiently protected and become unwilling to compromise with the British in non-European areas. For over a year no further discussion took place, and in 1924 MacDonald made it clear that Britain was far more interested in multilateral treaties within the framework of the League. The end of the abortive negotiations also constitutes the end of this collection of important documents, which will be enlarged by two subsequent volumes to cover Belgian diplomatic history to 1940.

American University

F. GUNTHER EYCK

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES BELGES, 1920-1940. LA POLITIQUE DE SÉCURITÉ EXTÉRIEURE. Volume II, PÉRIODE 1925-1931. Published by *Ch. De Visscher* and *F. Vanlangenhove*. [Documents relatifs au statut international de la Belgique depuis 1830, Part 1.] (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'Histoire. 1964. Pp. 718.)

THE first volume of this series focused on the creation of the Franco-Belgian military accord of 1920 and the failure of Belgian efforts to obtain additional protection by a treaty with Britain. The theme of the present volume is the achievement of both French and English guarantees through the Locarno Treaties and how, in Belgian eyes, those parts rendered the military agreement superfluous.

Indeed, in Brussels the accord became positively unwanted, as distaste grew over its provisions for the violation of the duchy of Luxembourg and for mobilization upon any general German rearmament. Underlying the Belgian attitude were the vehement Flemish campaign against the accord and the fear of being dragged by France into a war in Eastern Europe. By 1931 the main concern was not for an advantageous position in a future conflict but for avoidance of involvement in any war. Although Foreign Minister Paul Hymans made his views clear to the French, he was unable to force Paris to a joint denunciation of the accord. The Belgians' act of unilateral abrogation in 1936 was already in the making.

Much can also be learned from the documents concerning the diplomacy of the Great Powers. The volume presents interesting reading in this respect, and until the British, French, and German documents series reach the Locarno era, it will be one of the best sources available on the period.

Though the editors have skillfully selected the volume's contents, it may legitimately be asked if a complete picture of the diplomacy of the period can be provided by just 239 documents. Granted the series deals solely with security questions, it is nevertheless surprising that no information is provided on the April 1925 treaty concerning the Schelde, which the Netherlands refused to ratify, or re-

garding the 1926 convention by which Britain and France acknowledged the end of Belgium's neutrality as established by the treaties of 1839. These and other lacunae may be regretted; yet there is no contesting the contribution of this publication to an understanding of the diplomacy of the 1920's and the policies of a small power attempting to assert its independence of action.

Allegheny College

JONATHAN E. HELMREICH

OLAVUS PETRI AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL TRANSFORMATION IN SWEDEN, 1521-1552: A STUDY IN THE SWEDISH REFORMATION. By *Conrad Bergendoff*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 267. \$3.75.)

THIS doctoral dissertation (University of Chicago) on a key figure in the history of the Swedish Reformation was first published by Macmillan in 1928. It has now been reprinted with no changes except the addition of a six-page introduction intended as a summary of research on Olaus Petri during the last decades. When it first appeared, the book was of first-rate importance partly because it was a pioneer American work on the Swedish Reformation and partly because it clearly established connections between the Reformation in Sweden and in Germany that had not received adequate attention previously. For these reasons, historians should be pleased that the book has once again become available. But they also have the right to ask whether it was truly meet, right, and salutary merely to re-issue the book rather than to prepare a carefully revised new edition. None of the errors, big or small, of the original have been corrected, and the failure to incorporate the results of recent research makes the book seem out of date. The dissertation style of the text is marred by an inconsistent and often inaccurate orthography. The patriotic Swedish tone of the book—Engelbrekt revolted against "Danish oppression," and Christian II was a "cruel tyrant"—also seems dated. None of the historical discussion of the past decades on Gustavus Vasa has been anticipated, and the complex nature of the monarch's relations with Olaus is glossed over. The introduction does not make up for these faults. For example, there is a whole chapter on the legal and historical works of Olaus, but the introduction does not include mention of the key monograph on him as a historian: Gunnar T. Westin, *Historieskrivaren Olaus Petri* (1946). The text treats the Diet of Västerås (1527), but the introduction ignores the recent important articles in *Scandia* and *Historisk Tidskrift* for 1960 by Sven Kjölleström on this subject.

In short, like the furniture of the 1920's, this book can be used, but must be viewed as old-fashioned, though not old enough to be a prized antique.

University of California, Riverside

ERNST EKMAN

MYÖNTYVYSSUUNTAUKSEN HAHMOTTUMINEN YRJÖ-KOSKISEN JA SUOMALAISEN PUOLUEEN TOIMINTALINJAKSI. By *Pirkko Rommi*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Number 68.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1964. Pp. 372.)

FINNS were sharply divided on how to deal with the Russification crisis of the late

1890's. The Constitutionalist (Leo Mechelin, R. A. Wrede, Liberal and Swedish party elements) urged strict adherence to Finland's constitutional rights. The Compliers, taking what they thought was a realistic if pessimistic view of great power-small state relations, advocated compliance. They came largely from the Old Finnish party; their spokesman was Yrjö-Koskinen (1830-1903).

What is new and welcome in Pirkko Rommi's study is the detailed analysis of Yrjö-Koskinen's stance (which owed much to Woldemar Carl v. Daehn) and the deepening fissures it caused in the Old Finnish party. Two premises dominated Yrjö-Koskinen's thinking. First, in the battle to "win the tsar's soul," it was necessary for the Finns to manifest their loyalty in word and deed; pinpricks and pompous declarations about autonomy would only strengthen the militant conservative-nationalist forces in Russia, whose goal seemed to be *Finis Finlandiae*. Second, the national consciousness of the Finnish masses had to be vitalized. Herein, Yrjö-Koskinen was convinced, lay their ultimate salvation: "What will the future bring? No one can say. But so long as a people preserves a vital national spirit, its will to life is inextinguishable, and no earthly power can destroy it." Foolhardy resistance to every imperial demand, he feared, could result in a worse fate: total Russian administration, a sweeping victory of the Russian language, perhaps in the end the complete loss of Finnish identity. The specter appeared very real. "It truly looks as though the Lord has gone on vacation," Yrjö-Koskinen wrote to his son; yet an abiding faith compelled him often to add, "God watches over our tiny affairs too, that I know." Compliance, however, became less and less acceptable to the party's younger elements; they were more disposed to join in the fight against Russian illegalities than continue a stale language war with the Svecomen. Even the older Fennomans (J. R. Danielson, Agathon Meurman, and E. G. Palmén) took differing positions. Before his death Yrjö-Koskinen lost control, and the Old Finnish party broke in two.

While the strategy of compliance was apparently proved wrong by later history and has been denounced by many as akin to treason, it is, indeed, good to have this penetrating and dispassionate assessment of the movement and its leader. Included are a German-language summary and bibliography.

Heidelberg College

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

DEUTSCHE KULTURGESCHICHTE IM GRUNDRISS. By *Wilhelm Gössmann*. (2d rev. ed.; Munich: Max Hueber Verlag; distrib. by Chilton Books, Philadelphia. 1963. Pp. 145. DM 5.80.)

WRITING cultural history is a complex venture that demands breadth of view and sophistication. This effort to pack a millennium of German cultural history into 150 pages is almost a self-denying ordinance. Gössmann tries to transcend the limitations of an encyclopedia article. At times his concepts are suggestive and his insights thoughtful. But mostly he has written a sort of cultural history primer.

Beginning with early Germanic times, the author considers eight major eras in German cultural continuity. Each section begins with a historical-sociological summary, moves on to intellectual and spiritual characteristics, and concludes with a literary-artistic survey. The earlier chapters profit from established evaluations and certainties of historical perspective. By the time the book arrives at the

twentieth century, however, it deteriorates to little more than a representative listing of names and movements.

Inevitably the narrative reflects the tensions, pretensions, and tragedies of German history. Gössmann clearly must state that, in addition to Germany proper, German Switzerland, Austria, and some of Central Europe constitute the stage on which his drama unfolds. Yet, with its limitations, the book cannot begin to come to grips with the historical problems that explain the gap between political disasters and cultural achievements. Indeed the whole tone of the study is one of political passivity, of a kind of escape into *Kultur*, rather than engaged analysis. Perhaps its major benefit for Americans will be that, with its direct and uncomplicated style, it offers a useful and informative vehicle for students to improve their knowledge of German.

University of California, Irvine

HENRY CORD MEYER

DEUTSCHES JUDENTUM—AUFSTIEG UND KRISE: GESTALTEN, IDEEN, WERKE. VIERZEHN MONOGRAPHIEN. Edited by *Robert Weltsch*. [Veröffentlichung des Leo Baeck Instituts.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1963. Pp. 426.)

"The thousand-year history of German Jewry is over," declared the late Leo Baeck in 1933. One of the most difficult problems that confront historians is that of explaining the complex and almost unique relationship between German Jewry and Germany, in the era between Jewish emancipation in the eighteenth century and extermination in the twentieth. The Leo Baeck Institute, founded by refugees from Germany, has taken as one of its first responsibilities the analysis of this relationship and of the remarkable creative achievement of Jews in the political, economic, and cultural life of Germany. It was a halcyon century and a half between Moses Mendelssohn's translation of the Bible and the Nürnberg Laws.

The fourteen monographs presented here are a small selection of studies already, with one exception, originally published in English in the *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* between 1956 and 1962. Most of the collection is devoted to studies of outstanding Jewish personalities in German life: the philosophers Martin Buber and Julius Guttmann, the politician and philanthropist Paul Nathan, the industrialist and Zionist Salman Schocken, the banker Gerson von Bleichröder, the writer Franz Kafka, and the painter Max Liebermann. These figures have been chosen not so much because of their public prominence as because they illustrate interesting and important aspects of the Jewish experience in Germany. For an account of the contribution of the great luminaries of the German-Jewish cultural synthesis—Heine, Marx, Freud, Mahler, and Einstein—the reader must turn to Annedore Leber's *Doch das Zeugnis lebt fort* (1965). Like the essays edited by Leber, these studies are not directly concerned with explaining why the ultimate catastrophe occurred.

The final section of the book consists of five essays on the reaction of German Jewry to the Nazi threat in the deceptive years between 1933 and Hitler's decision to proceed to the Final Solution. The attitudes of German Jews and the institutions they created in an attempt to go on existing in Germany, even if in an

inferior and precarious status, are still the subject of impassioned controversy. This contribution to the subject is significant.

Although these are translations, intended to bring already published work to German readers, scholars will find this a valuable combination, in one easily accessible volume, of a variety of scholarly approaches to the Jewish-German experience. The editor's introduction is a useful guide to further work in this important field. For the specialist, this collection will not, of course, be a substitute for going to the files of the *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* itself, and beyond that, to the original sources.

Queens College

ANDREW G. WHITESIDE

HERDER'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT: FROM ENLIGHTENMENT TO NATIONALISM. By F. M. Barnard. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxii, 189. \$4.80.)

HERDER is one of the most original and influential thinkers of the eighteenth century. He made significant contributions to many fields of thought, yet he has been relatively neglected by British and American students of the history of thought. Here, at last, is a thorough and systematic examination of his social and political ideas.

The author begins with a biographical survey of Herder's life and a study of the thought of the German Enlightenment before Herder. He then proceeds topically to examine Herder's thought on society and the state. The most original and most influential of his ideas was his belief that the *Volk*, with its national memories and a common language, is the most basic unit to be considered in all social and political thinking. Herder looked forward to a new humanity organized into independent and democratically organized nation-states, each unique in its language and culture and each bound to respect the right of other nations. His nationalism was a cultural one of living and let live. He disliked the subjugation of one nation by another, hated imperialism and war, and always believed, as Goethe declared, "Above the nations is Humanity." He also heartily disliked dynastic despotism, the aristocracy, and the censorship of thought and the press. Herder's formulation of the modern ideas of nationalism is more fully treated in R. R. Ergang, *Herder and German Nationalism* (1931).

The weakest part of the discussion is on Herder's influence. In treating his effect on nationalist ideas in Germany, Barnard only considers Herder's influence on the writers of the German romantic school, most of whom were either indifferent or hostile to Herder's ideas. He fails to move beyond the 1820's and to examine Herder's influence on Young Germany and on the whole German unification movement. In treating Herder's influence outside Germany his coverage is more comprehensive. He shows the enormous influence of Herder's nationalist ideas on the peoples of Southern Central and Eastern Europe. He fails, however, to note, as shown in Monod's life of Michelet, Herder's influence on Michelet, the most nationalistic of French historians, and he says nothing about his influence on the Hungarian nationalist movement.

Nevertheless, this study of Herder's social and political ideas is now the best available in English.

Oberlin College

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

THE FALL OF STEIN. By R. C. Raack. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 58.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 217. \$6.50.)

My first thought when I was asked to review this monograph was to wonder what more can be written about a subject that has attracted the attention of so many distinguished historians. The answer is summarized by Dr. Raack in his preface and supported in detail by the rest of the book.

"Though many historians," he writes, "have recounted the dramatic events leading to the fall of the Stein government, I have taken as my special province for detailed investigation the personal intrigues and infighting among the small circle of men near the court just before Stein's resignation. The evidence I have found seems to show the need to explore the relations between what historians view as the larger historical movements—in this case the reform effort—and the constant harassments embodied in social and institutional life and the game of politics itself. Thus I have tried to put into perspective within a historical narrative the roles of chance and misunderstanding, clumsy bureaucratic machinery, patterns of action dictated by irrelevant conventions, clashes of personality and petty aspects of human relations, and the small vexations of the daily round. My purpose has been to resuscitate, where possible, something more than faceless shades and bloodless forces, and thus win the reader's indulgence for re-telling parts of a story of which the main outlines are already known."

It was Raack's good fortune to find unexploited sources in the East German archives at Merseburg and in a number of collections, some of them formerly German, now preserved in Poland. The new documents fill out the story of the intrigues and influences to which the King was exposed in his choice of ministers and make possible a better interpretation of the characters involved. The most important new evidence comes from the Altenstein and Hardenberg files at Merseburg. Apart from Stein, Hardenberg is the only actor in this confused drama who might claim the title of statesman, but Raack is able to demonstrate that Hardenberg, without realizing it, became a major tool of lesser men in persuading the King to drop Stein from his entourage. The influence of Napoleon was important, but after the ratification of the peace treaty Stein might have survived the outbursts of imperial bad temper if they had not been used by Stein's enemies at the Prussian court to support the arguments and suspicions that worked on the King's mind and will. Such influences cannot be weighed with assurance, but Raack's temperate conclusions seem justified by the evidence.

University of Minnesota

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL

ROBERT VON MOHL, 1799-1875: LEBEN UND WERK EINES ALTLIBERALEN STAATSGELEHRTEN. By *Erich Angermann*. [Politica, Nummer 8.] (Neuwied: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag. 1962. Pp. 470. DM 36.)

ROBERT von Mohl was one of the trail blazers of the German *Rechtsstaat*. In his most important works, published while he taught at the Universities of Tübingen and Heidelberg, he set forth the principles by which the bureaucracy of a constitutional state would have to be guided. Mohl was also one of the first German

political scientists to pay attention to social questions and to explore the relationship between state and society. Venturing into practical politics, he became Minister of Justice in the ill-fated all-German government formed during the Revolution of 1848. In the 1860's and 1870's he held a number of diplomatic and administrative positions.

Dr. Angermann's book is the first large-scale treatment of Mohl's life and work. Angermann has wisely refrained from using a strictly chronological approach; after an introductory chapter on Mohl's life and career he discusses his writings arranged in accordance with the three problem areas that claimed most of his attention. The picture that emerges is that of a nineteenth-century liberal of good will trying to adjust the political institutions of his day to the needs and aspirations of the rising *Bürgertum* and analyzing with notable realism the problems facing the working class in the beginning industrial age. To deal with these problems, Mohl called for the creation of a separate science of society distinct from political science.

Mohl had the satisfaction of seeing the *Rechtsstaat* become the basis of public administration throughout Germany. On the other hand, he struggled in vain to find a satisfactory solution to the demands of the working class. In the end, like many other German liberals, he turned to Bismarck. If earlier he had been opposed to the Chancellor, he finally saw in him the best safeguard of domestic unity and peace.

Angermann has written a painstaking, not uncritical study based in part on unpublished materials. Yet Mohl's story is not unusual, and while his innumerable writings provide a useful source of information on the concerns of his time, his was not a very original mind. Given these limitations, the book seems overly detailed at times. This applies in particular to some of the scholarly controversies in which Mohl became involved with contemporaries such as Treitschke and Lorenz von Stein. Anyone in need of specific information on Mohl's life and thought, however, will find it in Angermann's treatise.

Ohio State University

ANDREAS DORPALEN

DIE BAYERISCHE VATIKANGESANDTSCHAFT, 1803-1934. By *Georg Franz-Willing*. (Munich: Ehrenwirth Verlag. 1965. Pp. 283.)

THE account of the Bavarian diplomatic representation at the Holy See is the third and last in the series dealing with the relationship of the Vatican with the Central European powers. (The other volumes are A. Hudal, *Die Österreichische Vatikanbotschaft 1806-1918* [1952], and F. Hanus, *Die Preussische Vatikanengesandtschaft 1747-1920* [1954].) Since the Vatican archives were closed after 1848, the author based his account on the documents in the Bavarian state archives, primarily those of the Bavarian legation at the Holy See, the pertinent files in the Austrian archives, and on the personal papers of two of the more important Bavarian representatives, Tauffkirchen and Ritter.

The relationship between Bavaria and the Holy See throughout the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries was placid and considerably less significant than that between Austria or Prussia and the Holy See. The end of World War I brought changes. With the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian

Empire, the fall of the monarchies, and the coming to power of socialist governments, a reassessment of the Church-state relationship became necessary. As far as Bavaria was concerned, the unitary tendencies of the Weimar Republic threatened to submerge Bavarian particularism. The endeavor of the Bavarian episcopate to conclude a new concordat with Rome and to keep its diplomatic ties with the Holy See became part of Bavaria's struggle to maintain its identity at least in the field of cultural and religious affairs. The Vatican, in turn, was interested in preserving and bolstering Bavaria, the foremost Catholic state, against the predominantly Protestant, socialist, central government in Berlin. Events of the post-war years put Bavaria in the forefront of German affairs. The short-lived Communist regime in Munich and the subsequent rise and unsuccessful *Putsch* of the newly formed National Socialist Workers party left their mark on Bavarian-Vatican relations and particularly on the papal nuncio, Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, who later became Pope Pius XII. The author hardly touches upon Pacelli's opinions and impressions of these events, probably because material of this sort, which should be in the files of the Munich nunciature, is still closed to scholars. From the Catholic point of view, however, the most important event of this period was the conclusion of the concordat between Bavaria and the Holy See on March 29, 1924, primarily the work of Pacelli. It became the model for subsequent concordats, such as that with Poland (1925), Prussia (1929), Baden (1932), Austria (1933), the *Reich* (1933).

Thus, the most interesting sources and materials are concentrated in the last two decades of Bavarian-Vatican relations. The author, fully aware of the importance of these events and the unevenness of his documentation, allocated 158 of 250 pages to the period 1909-1934. This gives the contents of the book a poor balance. The documentation is extensive, and details of the concordat and points of dispute between the negotiating parties are given in footnotes and appendixes. It is certainly a work of scholarship. To imply, however, that Freemasons were involved in the Sarajevo assassination and to state that Germany was faced with open civil war at the end of 1932 and that there was no other choice at that time except Communism or Nazism will surely cast doubt on the author's comprehension and interpretation of recent European history.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE O. KENT

BISMARCK. By *Werner Richter*. Translated from the German by *Brian Battershaw*. Foreword by *F. H. Hinsley*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1965. Pp. 420. \$6.95.)

BISMARCK literature has grown rapidly in recent years. America has contributed nobly to it, especially through the first part of Otto Pflanze's masterful treatise. From Britain has come A. J. P. Taylor's elegant, if controversial, portrait. But the German historical profession has not given us thus far a biography of the Iron Chancellor that could be called a classic. Erich Marcks had the literary gifts to do so, but his hero worship makes his writings on Bismarck unacceptable and almost unreadable today; A. O. Meyer's final work appeared at a time when it had little impact, and the same happened to Otto Becker's posthumously published study. The popular image of Bismarck was formed in the twenties by outsiders like

Emil Ludwig. During the Second World War Erich Eyck's monumental reappraisal from the critical outlook of a liberal exile appeared; it is deplorable that his magnum opus was never fully translated into English. Now Werner Richter, a former correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and more recently of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, residing in New York City, who established his reputation as a biographer of Emperor Friedrich III and King Ludwig II of Bavaria, has presented a new full-length portrait of great literary merit. Extensive research went into the preparation of the volume, although one might argue about some strange omissions from his bibliography.

Richter tries hard to avoid the pitfalls of both excessive criticism and patriotic adulation. He observes correctly that "history and hagiography are two distinct sciences which must not be confused with each other." Richter is at his best in those chapters in which he offers a penetrating analysis of Bismarck's personality. Richter's colorful sketches of Napoleon III and Alexander II also add to the attractiveness of the volume. On the other hand, Richter takes certain positions that are open to disagreement. He is too critical of the work of the *Paulskirche*, and he tends to overrate the accomplishments and the potential of the *Deutsche Bund*. He deplores the ultimate consequences of Königgrätz: it "cut deep into the very substance of Germany which it reduced by a third, and caused its intellectual and economic influence . . . to stop short at Vienna which now became a mere frontier post." While one may debate such theses, Richter's vivid and eminently fair account of Bismarck's life deserves to find many appreciative readers in the English version. The translation by Brian Battershaw is generally satisfactory; the text has, however, been shortened in spots without explanation. There are more printing errors than would seem excusable, and a few factual mistakes might have been corrected. The pictorial material is rather well selected, but poorly executed.

Trenton State College

FELIX E. HIRSCH

AUGUST BEBELS BRIEFWECHSEL MIT FRIEDRICH ENGELS. Edited by *Werner Blumenberg*. [Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen und österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung, Number 6.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1965. Pp. liii, 824. Glds. 96.)

THE correspondence between Bebel and Engels, edited under the auspices of the *Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, Amsterdam, is one of the most important sources of the history of the German socialist party as well as of international socialism. Though its publication was originally contemplated soon after Engels' death, the first larger edition of the correspondence did not appear in Russian translation until 1932, in connection with the publication of other letters of Marx and Engels, and subsequently also in German (1933, 1958).

The correspondence includes 319 letters, 96 by Engels to August and Julie Bebel, and 216 of their letters to Engels. Though many of Engels' and quite a few of Bebel's letters have been lost, the continuity of the correspondence by and large has been preserved. Only a few letters cover the seventies, many the eighties, and most the period up to 1895, the year Engels died. As far as his letters are concerned, the present edition is the most authoritative one; Bebel's letters have not

been previously published except those quoted in his memoirs and others used by Gustav Mayer in his biography of Engels (1934).

Bebel became the parliamentary leader of the best-organized and most disciplined socialist party in Europe. Though he esteemed the theoretical accomplishments of Marx and Engels, he was never overawed by their prestige. Toward Engels, twenty years his senior and after Marx's death the recognized "general" of the movement, Bebel displayed independence and frequently rejected, in friendship but with determination, his views and advice. According to the Russian and German editors of the correspondence that was published in the thirties, Engels, with Marx, had been the guide and mentor of the German Social Democratic party. Mayer similarly asserted that Engels, who esteemed Bebel's political judgment but was frequently disappointed at his theoretical position, had in the end made him a disciple. Bebel himself, however, stressed that Marx and Engels had never gone beyond giving advice, which in "very important cases" he had not followed. The correspondence even shows Bebel's influence upon Engels in matters of tactics, especially after 1890 when the party's electoral successes made an increasing impression. Bebel did not accept Engels' advice concerning the fusion of the two Social Democratic parties in Gotha in 1875 and the complete elimination of Lassalle's continuing impact. The occasional difference of views was partly that between the practical, though radical, politician with his concern for immediate problems and the absentee theoretician. On the other hand, both Bebel and Engels stressed the class character of the Social Democratic party and the danger of abandoning revolutionary goals, and both shared the same naïve optimism that the German proletariat would move with giant strides toward revolution and be in control by 1898. A general European war was considered the greatest misfortune, but should one break out, socialism would come to power in its wake.

The volume is a masterpiece of scholarly editing and furnishes in the preface a competent, sympathetic, but critical evaluation of Bebel's policies and Engels' views, and in its footnotes rich and reliable information about contemporary German and international events and personalities referred to.

Marquette University

ALFRED D. LOW

FRIEDRICH EBERT: EINE POLITISCHE BIOGRAPHIE. Volume I, DER AUFSTIEG EINES DEUTSCHEN ARBEITERFÜHRERS, 1871 BIS 1917.

By *Georg Kotowski*. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1963. Pp. xii, 280.)

THERE is a need for a good professional biography of Friedrich Ebert. This first of two projected volumes records his origin and rise to prominence, from his birth in 1871 to 1917, just after he assumed leadership of the majority Socialists in World War I. The second volume will provide an analysis of Ebert's role in the Revolution of 1918 and as President of the Weimar Republic, until his death in 1925.

This work is an unexciting, although accurate, rendition of Ebert's colorless climb to political power. Although Ebert could turn "purple in the face and roar inarticulate threats," as he did in the *Reichstag* in support of Germany's war effort in 1917, his main trait of sober common sense usually prevailed. Kotowski's treatment of his subject also reflects sobriety and good judgment.

Ebert often found himself to be "the man in the middle." Within his party he moderated between the orthodox and revisionist Socialists, during the Revolution between the Spartacists and imperialists, and during the republic between the Communists and reactionary elements of German society. Similarly, the author follows a middle course in his evaluation of Ebert, abstaining from extreme statements and unorthodox interpretations.

Kotowski appropriately casts Ebert within the context of social democracy, which was a major movement in the last hundred years of German history. Although the development of social democracy ran like a prominent colored thread in the history of the periods of Bismarck and William II, Ebert was virtually ignored, if not unknown, among Germans until he assumed political leadership by default in the 1918 Revolution. It was at this point that Ebert became the symbol of transition for social democracy, which the German nation then accepted after many years of rejection.

Before reaching the pinnacle of acceptance he worked as a party functionary and trade-union organizer, suffering persecution for the cause in which he believed. He espoused social and political reform first as labor secretary in Bremen from 1900 to 1905, then as secretary of the Socialist party after 1905, and finally as a representative of the party in the *Reichstag* in 1912. In these years he learned the art of political compromise and shrewdness, which later served him, his party, and his country well.

The author has prepared a careful and sound biography, notwithstanding a scarcity of original materials. Ebert was a saddle maker by trade, without either formal academic preparation or a penchant for prolific writing, who did not systematically commit to writing his political and social theories for future examination. Letters and other routine documents, for years unavailable, were apparently destroyed during World War II. Ebert's son joined the Communist cause and is not available for information. This volume necessarily draws heavily on the writings of contemporaries and on the minutes of party congresses and committee meetings.

The reader will find here a faithful political record of Ebert moving through a jungle of Socialist party caucuses and congresses and *Reichstag* sessions, but failing to emerge as a flesh-and-blood German labor leader.

Wisconsin State University, Superior

K. W. MEYER

THE TRACK OF THE WOLF: ESSAYS ON NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND ITS LEADER, ADOLF HITLER. By *James H. McRandle*. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 261. \$4.95.)

ANIMALISTIC symbols used in folklore and literature form a fascinating subject which, I am sure, has been analyzed more than once. Some enterprising scholar should soon look into the particular fascination that the canine species seems to hold for students of German National Socialism. After Hughes's *Fox in the Attic* and Grass's *Dog Years* we now have Professor McRandle's *Track of the Wolf*, a title derived from Hitler's apparent identification with that beast. We are told in the first of the five essays in this book that "The suggestion of power, destructiveness, and loneliness inherent in the wolf figure fits closely the facts of Hitler's life."

McRandle feels, however, that there were two sides to Hitler's character and that the "ravening wolf hungering for, and attaining, political power" was complemented by the "dawdling dreamer" with aspirations toward an artistic, that is, highly humanistic life. The latter Hitler conceived as the goals of Nazism; the former broke the trail. The creator and the destroyer, the worker and the warrior, the common man and the uncommon heroic leader are the dichotomous polarities that represent major thematic elements in this often fascinating, frequently provocative, and generally stimulating series of essays.

Those who may feel that it is the job of the historian to report the facts and shun imaginative speculation will find much to criticize in this book. McRandle has taken the liberty of choosing and arranging available information about Hitler, his movement, and modern German history to present and lend support to interpretations that may well arouse passionate disagreement, above all in his essay entitled "The Suicide," which takes up close to half the volume. Relying on certain psychological studies, particularly Karl Menninger's, he comes to the conclusion that Hitler's life represents a progression of self-defeating acts always pointing toward the suicide that finally concluded it. Hitler is said to have methodically courted disaster, and, if he often seemed certain that he would prevail against great odds, according to McRandle he may have been motivated not so much by a conviction of his objective superiority as by a subjective masochistic desire to invite failure by risking all.

I found myself frequently in disagreement with the interpretations offered, particularly in the chapters on the "revolution" in modern German society and Hitler's character, but I was never bored. The readability of the book might have been improved by better editing, the arguments might have been strengthened or weakened by greater familiarity with such relevant literature as Erik Erikson's study of the young Hitler, and at times McRandle seems to push the "iffy" reasoning rather far. But such caveats should not prevent anyone interested in the history of modern Germany and the writing of biography from making this book required reading. Here at least is one young historian who has taken to heart Professor Langer's call in his 1957 presidential address to the American Historical Association for "a deepening of our historical understanding through the exploitation of the concepts and findings of modern psychology."

Washington University

LEWIS J. EDINGER

DAS GESICHT DES DRITTEN REICHES: PROFILE EINER TOTALITÄREN HERRSCHAFT. By Joachim C. Fest. (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag. 1963. Pp. 513. DM 22.)

EVEN for one who has read nearly all the major works, and an exhausting number of scholarly monographs, on Nazi Germany, a reading of Joachim Fest's *Das Gesicht des dritten Reiches* is a rewarding and disquieting experience. Fest is a young man, still under forty, with a career in radio and television; in fact, this profile of the Third Reich had its origin in a series of RIAS-Berlin broadcasts on recent German history. But he has a firm grasp of the scholarly historical writing on Nazism, combined with an ability to bring depth psychology, sociology, and cultural history to bear on the problem of understanding Nazism. His method is

to sketch individuals so that each illuminates some part of the total picture; at the end, a single chapter draws all the parts together.

Each Nazi in turn—Hitler and Göring, Heydrich and Himmler, Bormann and Röhm, aristocrats and plebeians, ideologists and technicians, generals and intellectuals, and housewives—is sketched against the distracted Germany left by war, peace, inflation, rationalization of industry, and the Great Depression. Here was a twisted, deformed society, and here were the twisted, deformed individuals who fought their way to power over that society, and over a Europe that had been, like Germany, twisted and deformed by events since 1914.

The emphasis throughout is, first of all, on alienation, on the frustrations and hatreds of men and women who for one reason or another could find no secure footing in the Weimar Republic. The emphasis next is on direct action, struggle against a society which rejected these misfits, a society in which, before the end, too many felt alienated and ready to bring the whole structure down in a paroxysm of hatred. The emphasis finally is on power, the struggle of “the movement” to attain power, and the struggle of each of the Nazis against all other Nazis. What, after 1933, appeared a monolith was in actuality an arena in which each battled for power over the others, with Hitler alone as the manipulator, and the beneficiary, of the sordid struggle.

Ideology, in a positive sense, is given only a minor place in the story. The Nazis, including Hitler, were violent in their hatred of the old; their positive program, aside from the lust for power, shifted with the tactical needs of the moment. It is false, Fest argues, to call this a revolution of nihilism, but it is equally false to present Nazism as a coherent body of doctrine that guided action.

Scholars will quarrel with this or that part of Fest’s synthesis of their work, but on the whole this is the best short popular presentation of the Nazi experience. It is to be hoped that the volume will be translated. In these days when alienation is so much in vogue, and when direct action has so much appeal to young idealists, when, so to speak, the bulldozer is the one approved instrument for effecting change, this study of the Nazi experience has disquieting relevance.

University of California, Berkeley

RAYMOND J. SONTAG

KURT SCHUMACHER: A STUDY IN PERSONALITY AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR. By *Lewis J. Edinger*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 390. \$8.95.)

THIS well-prepared monograph portrays Kurt Schumacher as a political leader. Therefore, the author’s concern is not the whole man, but only those facts and circumstances that can illuminate Schumacher’s political behavior. In order to achieve this goal, Professor Edinger focused his painstaking investigation on the interaction between the politician’s personality and the setting in which he operated. A quite new approach, the “actor-centered personality model,” in Edinger’s terminology, has been applied to the subject with reliance primarily on the following types of sources: published material; interviews with about a hundred informants, part of whom were once closely linked with the politician; and unpublished documents, notably Schumacher’s papers.

The organization of sources is partly chronological, partly topical. The forma-

tive years of Schumacher's personality are related in Chapters II-IV, in which the author briefly and correctly delineates the personality patterns that apparently took shape prior to 1945. Chapter V interestingly surveys the political setting and perspectives of a posttotalitarian leader in war-torn Germany. In the subsequent chapters Schumacher's personal qualities are so well reviewed that the reader has no alternative but to accept Edinger's conclusions. Accordingly, Schumacher's firm convictions, his personal sacrifice, and his dedication to the moral mission to which he had assigned himself may not have made him a great politician or statesman, but they perhaps allow us to view him as a figure of heroic proportions. Though the volume is an excellent characterization of Schumacher's political image and behavior, some of its shortcomings should be mentioned. For instance, the unbearable economic conditions imposed upon the Weimar Republic by the shortsighted policy of French encirclement attracted only superficial attention from Edinger, though French diplomatic actions were significant in shaping Schumacher's career and views and contributed to his negative attitude toward the occupation powers following the collapse of the Third *Reich*. Similarly, the peculiar form of German social democracy did not receive proper treatment. Partly owing to this insufficient background analysis, Edinger has been somewhat hesitant in depicting the politician's ideological posture. This is all the more conspicuous because Schumacher, as well as most of his German and Central and East European contemporaries who were involved in the leadership of the Social Democratic movement, was not well trained in dialectical materialism. Their frequent use of dialectical phraseology appeared to have served tactical rather than ideological purposes.

The impressive volume is equipped with carefully selected illustrations, a bibliography, a chronology of Schumacher's career (1945-1952), explanatory notes, and an index. Among the appendixes the compilation of the main themes of 129 of Schumacher's speeches (1945-1952) and a sampling of his public image are of great value.

This well-based, scholarly, and highly fascinating contribution to the solution of the Schumacher problem distinctly separates the man from the myth.

Library of Congress

FRANCIS S. WAGNER

DIE SPD NACH HITLER: DIE GESCHICHTE DER SOZIALDEMOKRATISCHEN PARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS, 1945-1964. By *Theo Pirker*. (Munich: Rütten & Loening. 1965. Pp. 360. DM 18.)

THIS detailed and amply documented study of the SPD in the two decades 1945-1965 reconstructs in fascinating detail the successive phases of the opening situation after 1945; the SPD participation in the founding of the Federal Republic, 1947-1949; Schumacher's intransigent opposition to Adenauer until his death in 1952; the two election fiascos of 1953 and 1957 because the party could not shake off Schumacher's legacy; the reorientation under the leadership of Wehner and Brandt, 1957-1961; and its post-1961 position of standing in the "ante-chamber of power" while being unable to penetrate the inner sanctum. The story is cast in a useful, though sometimes rather unreadable, form of a strictly chron-

ological narrative interspersed by long documents drawn from official party sources.

Pirker's book is written from a particular, and highly explicit, point of view. The author is a Left-wing intellectual who deplores the degeneration of the SPD from a starting position in 1945 of championing the "democratic and humanistic hopes of anti-Fascism" to its present position of acquiescent participation in the Federal Republic's "authoritarian democracy," albeit only in the role of an "institutionalized opposition." He concedes rather reluctantly that the hopes of 1945 were utopian, but insists angrily that the SPD's active cooperation in the abandonment of these hopes was not necessary. He bitterly assails Schumacher's authoritarianism, pharisaism, nationalism, and faith in "Prussian centralization"; excoriates the SPD's active participation in the creation of the separatist "Western state" (with special attention to the "hypocritical" and "Machiavellian" role played by Carlo Schmid and Ernst Reuter); notes satirically the glaring contrast between the SPD's rhetorical opposition to Adenauer's authoritarian, capitalistic, and "separatist" state while in fact feeling increasingly at home in it; and treats the Bad Godesberg program of 1959, which registered the complete abandonment of the hope of achieving either socialism or reunification, with a mixture of disgust and relief, the latter because it at least had the merit of terminating the long-standing cleavage between theory and practice, pretense and reality.

The author's ex parte interpretation is especially interesting because it opposes on every point the more frequently heard criticism that the SPD was much too slow in abandoning its anachronistic Marxism and its unattainable reunification goal. The argument is, however, vulnerable on several grounds. Pirker is so virulently hostile to the SPD policy that he criticizes it from variegated, and sometimes incompatible, points of view. For example, Schumacher is attacked both for his excessive intransigence and his insufficient intransigence. Pirker shows too little appreciation of the objective historical factors that dictated the main substance of Adenauer's policies, and it is surely significant that the author is unable to suggest a meaningful alternative to the policies he criticizes other than simple reaffirmation of socialist dogma and hostility to West Germany's integration into the Western world.

Pirker fails, moreover, to provide an adequate explanation of why the SPD developed as it did, such as is provided in the excellent recent American book by Douglas Chalmers, *The Social Democratic Party of Germany* (1964). Further weaknesses of the book are its highly tendentious treatment of some important chapters of Germany's post-1945 development and specific statements that are sometimes marred by error derived from a priori conceptions. It should be stressed in conclusion, however, that this book, for all its one-sidedness, is worth reading as an antidote to more conventional treatments of the subject.

Brown University

KLAUS EPSTEIN

HISTORICA: STUDIEN ZUM GESCHICHTLICHEN DENKEN UND FORSCHEN. Edited by *Hugo Hantsch et al.* (Vienna: Herder. 1965. Pp. vii, 197. Sch. 130.)

THIS collection of ten essays is a *Festschrift* for Professor Friedrich Engel-Janosi.

Among the contributors are three Americans (Kent Roberts Greenfield, Robert A. Kann, and Frederic C. Lane), seven Austrians, and one Italian (Franco Valsecchi). Some readers will miss a bibliography of the works of Engel-Janosi, who has devoted most of his life to problems of Austrian history, especially to the diplomatic relations between Austria and the Vatican. Like most books of this kind, it discusses a great variety of subjects and is therefore difficult to review.

Three essays deal with the background and essence of Josephinism. Max Braubach shows how Prince Eugene of Savoy shared in the then general distrust of the Jesuits and of any attempts on the part of the Church to assert its influence even in Catholic states and how this line of thought led to Josephinism. Adam Wandruszka publishes Maria Theresa's instruction to her son Leopold, when in 1765 he became Grand Duke of Tuscany. Valsecchi shows the full "fury" of Josephinism in its effort to replace outdated and ineffectual traditional administrative conditions in Lombardy by a rational order. He stresses equally the shortcomings of enlightened absolutism and its necessity. "Um die Lombardei in den Kreislauf des Fortschritts der Zeit eintreten zu lassen, war ein grosser Schritt zu vollziehen und dieser Schritt konnte nur unter dem Antrieb eines entschiedenen Druckes vollzogen werden." Emperor Joseph cleared the road for the new forces that emerged in the early nineteenth century. Valsecchi's essay excels by its sense of fairness and understanding of the modern changes in the intellectual climate and the class structure.

In the last chapter Hugo Hantsch acquaints us with some characteristic letters written by Archduke Franz Ferdinand to Count Leopold von Berchtold, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister from 1912 until 1915. Hantsch regards both the Archduke and the Minister with sympathy. Yet some readers of the Archduke's letters will be unpleasantly reminded of William II's famous marginal notes: there are the same impulsive lack of restraint and the same uncontrolled primitive language. He disliked the Slavs and the Magyars as much as the Italians. In April 1914, when Berchtold was to meet the Italian Foreign Minister, Marchese di San Giuliano, the Archduke wrote him: "Von ganzem Herzen bedaure ich Sie, dass Sie die schönen Ostertage mit diesem italienischen Seeräuber zubringen müssen! Warum dauert denn die Geschichte so lange, und warum wurde dieses ekelhafte Judenaquarium Abbazia, eingekeilt zwischen Slawen und Irredentisten, gewählt? Hoffentlich sind Sie sehr grantig und unausstehlich, . . . und machen dem verfluchten Katzelmacher begreiflich, er solle nicht mehr so frech sein. . . ." Only the Germans and their Kaiser had the Archduke's full confidence. After reading these letters one begins to sympathize with the old Emperor's distrust of the heir to his throne.

Saint Joseph's College

HANS KOHN

MITTELALTERLICHE HEILKUNDE IN WIEN. By *Harry Kühnel*. [Studien zur Geschichte der Universität Wien, Number 5.] (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1965. Pp. 114, 16 plates. DM 23.)

DIE WIENER MEDIZINISCHE SCHULE IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Erna Lesky*. [Studien zur Geschichte der Universität Wien, Number 6.] (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1965. Pp. 660, 100 plates. DM 66.)

UNTIL the beginning of the Second World War the University of Vienna was world-famous for its excellent school of medicine. In fact, the reputation of those American physicians who could claim some years of postgraduate study in Vienna was greatly enhanced. But beyond medicine proper, the excellence of Vienna has also extended to the basic sciences and other specialties ancillary to medicine proper, such as the history of medicine. Professor Erna Lesky, the current incumbent of the medicohistorical professorship and director of the Institute of the History of Medicine, has truly lived up to the great example of her predecessors with the publication of this superb work. It deals with Vienna's most important historical epoch, the nineteenth century, at the beginning of which medicine was first subdivided into the branches of which it now consists: internal medicine, pediatrics, surgery, obstetrics, ophthalmology, anatomy and physiology, pathology, pharmacology, and public health. These fields formed the "First Viennese Medical School." The "Second Viennese Medical School," begun in the middle of the century, gave rise to many new specialties and numbered a great many eminent clinicians and scientists among its faculty. Into this period also falls the tragedy of the extraordinary genius of Ignaz Philipp Semmelweis who made himself the martyr of obstetrics by discovering the source of and combating the scourge of puerperal fever. Semmelweis' studies of the devastating effect of childbed fever were possible largely because of the extraordinarily thorough and complete statistics kept by the department of pathological anatomy that revealed the striking epidemiological contrast between the infectiveness of the physicians and medical students who attended the parturient women immediately upon leaving the pathological laboratory. The midwives, however, who did not enter the pathological laboratories could never be guilty of transmitting puerperal infection. Semmelweis' pleas that his medical colleagues undergo a thorough cleansing of their hands before approaching their women patients remained not only unheeded, but were received with the same hostility that has generally been extended to medical innovations. Thus, another Viennese contemporary, Ferdinand von Auenbrugger, who first described the practice of percussion in physical diagnosis was simply ignored by leading Viennese clinicians.

Although Sigmund Freud also belonged among those whose innovations were received with hostility and disdain, such rejection was *not* the invariable fate suffered by the great Viennese medical innovators. Theodore Billroth, the brilliant, daring, and inspired surgeon whose work was based upon the understanding and conquest of surgical infections, succeeded in hitherto unthought of surgical interventions, and he was not exposed to rejection and hostility. The Viennese Medical School abounds in illustrious names and personalities, all of whom are described in Lesky's superb volume. The author has brought to life not only the important beginnings of medicine in Vienna but significant aspects of the history of medicine the world over.

The remarkable and praiseworthy feature of this volume is that in spite of its completeness, length, and scholarship, it is enjoyable to read and free of pedantic impedimenta. The book is recommended not only to medical historians but also to specialists of modern European history who will find here important aspects of cultural history of which traditional historians tend to remain totally unaware.

Kühnel's work is a slim companion volume to Lesky's sizable tome. The reason

for this apparently unequal distribution of space to the two epochs is entirely justified because medieval medicine, in spite of its intrinsic importance, contributed little to the actual art of healing and has never been completely explored. It does, however, furnish an indispensable link between the medicine of antiquity and the Renaissance. Also of equal interest is the consideration of the early university medical schools which, in addition to their task of affording medical training, were charged with the supervision of the practice of medicine and the laws of medical licensing. The volume further deals with the clerical physicians, the founding of the University of Vienna, and the special tasks of its medical faculty. In the sixth and longest chapter the leading faculty members and physicians of medieval Vienna are discussed; in the subsequent chapter is a description of the personalities of the body physicians of royalty and nobility. Like Lesky's, this volume is also an important contribution to the history of medicine and culture; it is well illustrated, aesthetically pleasing, and recommended to all historians who feel capable of mastering its elegant yet simple German style.

San Francisco, California

ILZA VEITH

GESTALTEN UND IDEEN AUS DEN SCHRIFTEN DES FÜRSTEN
KARL JOSEPH DE LIGNE. Selected and edited with an introduction by
Hans-Henning von der Burg. With a preface by *Vicomte Paul van Zeeland*.
[Österreichische Diplomaten.] (Graz: Verlag Styria. 1965. Pp. 232. Sch. 138.)

CHARLES Joseph, prince de Ligne, is known mainly for his role at the Congress of Vienna: for saying, "le congrès danse, mais il ne marche pas," for catching pneumonia while waiting in the snow for a lady, and, by his subsequent death, for providing the congress with one of its finest spectacles, the funeral of an Austrian field marshal. By then he was almost eighty years old and had lived at least the preceding sixty years to the full. He had embellished his ancestral estate of "Beloeil," near Mons, and lost it to the French Revolution. He had participated in the Seven Years' War, the War of the Bavarian Succession, the Austro-Turkish War of 1788-1791, and had been Austrian governor of Hainault. He had intimately known Joseph II, Catherine the Great, and Casanova, had been called the most charming man in Europe by Voltaire, had acquired a reputation for unconditional loyalty to his friends and unconditional disloyalty to his mistresses, and had written and published thirty-four volumes of *Mélanges militaires, littéraires et sentimentales* between 1795 and 1811.

Historically his reputation has been preserved in excerpts and condensations, in the studies of Du Bled, Dumont-Wilden, and Marthe Oulié, and in the voluminous pages of the *Annales, Prince de Ligne*, edited by the great De Ligne scholar Félicien Leuridant. Along with other eighteenth-century figures he has experienced a post-World War II revival, of which the present work, edited by Hans-Henning von der Burg, is a part. The book is meant for the general reader, is relatively brief, and is topical rather than chronological in arrangement. It covers De Ligne's reactions to the major experiences and events of his life.

He emerges from these pages as a thorough cosmopolitan, a connoisseur of the arts, a defender of the Jews and of the cleanliness of the Tartars, a brave soldier who accepted the rigors of the Turkish war with equanimity. Yet, there are curious lacunae. He was deeply interested in the character of Joseph II, but not in

his reforms. Of the pacification of Belgium in which he was closely involved, he wrote in very general terms. We hear next to nothing of his activities as governor of Hainault.

De Ligne shared the cosmopolitanism and rationalism of the great eighteenth-century figures, but he lacked their passionate commitment. Joseph II, Voltaire, Diderot knew hate and anger, but they tried to change the world. Charles Joseph, prince de Ligne, did not.

Hunter College

EDITH M. LINK

AUSZTRIA-MAGYARORSZÁG ÉS A FRANCIA-POROSZ HÁBORÚ, 1870-1871 [Austria-Hungary and the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1871]. By *István Diószegi*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1965. Pp. 275. Ft. 60.)

THE period during which Hungary was a partner with Austria enjoying equal rights within the Habsburg monarchy was relatively short. Even after the Compromise of 1867, Hungarian interest remained focused on interior affairs, particularly on the maintenance and constant reassertion of Hungarian independence. Ever since, Hungarian historians have tended to concentrate their efforts on what was essential from the Hungarian point of view and have paid little attention to the foreign policies of the monarchy. This book is a welcome exception to the rule and shows that for the purposes of research centered on the non-Hungarian aspects of Habsburg political activity Hungarian scholars can make good use of their familiarity with the functioning and the mentality of the Habsburg state.

In examining Austro-Hungarian reaction to the Franco-Prussian War the author pays particular attention to the effect on foreign policy of the problem of nationalities endemic in the monarchy. The author's thesis that the Franco-Prussian War and its sequel, the creation of the German Empire, brought a rapprochement between Vienna and Berlin will hardly be disputed. But in trying to trace the reasons for such an attitude, Diószegi shows that when it became evident that the creation of a great German Empire was not incompatible with the existence of the multinational monarchy, the problem of Prussian propaganda among the German-speaking populations of Austria-Hungary lost its acuteness, and the conditions for collaboration were greatly improved. The author adduces much interesting material showing the reluctant reorientation of Habsburg foreign policy, from a strongly pro-French attitude, through a cautious approach to Germany, to the *Dreikaiserbund*. Thanks to the author's excellent documentation, it is possible to see with greater clarity than before the mechanism of what must have been an agonizing reappraisal for the monarchy. The figure of *Reichskanzler Graf Beust* gains much through this close scrutiny. He appears not only as a shrewd tactician, but also as a man of vision, seeing with great clarity the basic antagonism between Germany and Russia and the inevitability of the French *revanche*.

This is a useful, intelligent book, which incorporates the fruits of serious research in Austrian, Saxon, and Hungarian archives. The original French or German of the documents quoted in Hungarian is given in footnotes. The absence of an index in a book of this type and quality is unpardonable.

Indiana University

DENIS SINOR

AUSTRIA UNDER THE IRON RING, 1879-1893. By *William A. Jenks*. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1965. Pp. ix, 332. \$6.00.)

IN point of time this authoritative study treads hard on the heels of *Vienna and the Young Hitler* (1960) by Professor Jenks, and like it, the present book incorporates wide knowledge, resting upon fresh and imaginative research and subtle insights, and it is written with easy, relaxed, literary grace. Though Jenks is resourceful in handling institutions and the competitive nationalisms that plagued the realm on the Danube, he is less at ease in dealing with ideas and the social and economic urges that underlay them. Necessarily, any reconstruction of the Taaffe regime, that oddly assorted cartel of Austro-German clericalism and of most of the Slavic-speaking elements, requires intricate dissections of ministerial stratagems and parliamentary (and undercover) maneuvering, both of which suffer somewhat from the absence of an attempt to analyze the divergent national groupings according to the standard categories of intellectuals, bent on attaining dignity along with identity, the aristocracy, the educated middle classes, and the broad masses, urban and rural. To ask for a convincing assessment of this character may be proposing the impossible, but one dares to wish that someone sometime will give the idea an experimental try. It would also have been relevant to paint a fuller portrait of Taaffe the man, as well as the public personality, than is furnished on these pages.

Persuaded that Taaffe was "an ideal *Kaiserminister*," who "maintained the wealthier half of his master's realm in reasonable order for fourteen years," Jenks offers highly professional accounts of such fundamentals as army expansion, the division of the University of Prague, the tortuous transactions that led to the verge of an Austro-German-Czech rapprochement in 1890, Austro-German clamor to secure German as the official language of the Empire matching clerical pressure to recover full confessional surveillance over schools, success in limited franchise extension and failure in a broader suffrage program, violent Pan-Germanism flaming up in connection with the renewal of the franchise of the privately owned Nordbahn line, the outbreak of direct action by partisans of the socially discontented and the response of the "Iron Ring" to it. If individual chapters are to be singled out for special applause, precedence must be assigned to those devoted to social security legislation pointed toward a welfare state. The summary is a little masterpiece, and the book list is excellent, though crisp appraisals of the principal titles would have made it even more serviceable.

University of Rochester

ARTHUR J. MAY

ITALY. By *Massimo Salvadori*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. viii, 184. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

THE first and the last three chapters of Professor Salvadori's book are the most satisfactory. They deal with "Italy Today," "Crisis of 1914-1922," "Fascist Dictatorship, 1922-1943," and "Experiment in Democracy," topics about which the author has considerable intimate knowledge. Salvadori, whose bias is that of a democratic liberal, emphasizes correctly the importance of the First World War as

a turning point in Italian history. He may well be correct in his assertion that Fascism was the most original contribution made by the Italian nation to human experience since the Counter Reformation, but he is less credible when he declares that Pius XI was "always an enthusiastic admirer" of Fascism, and it is at least debatable whether agriculture was really the "main concern" of Fascist economics. In his conclusion Salvadori observes that Italy overcame the growing pains of the 1890's, but failed to overcome those of the post-World War I period. He cautiously predicts that the late 1960's will witness a repetition of what happened seventy, not forty, years ago.

Sandwiched in between the sections dealing with the twentieth century are six chapters that seek to explain the significance of the preceding two thousand or more years of history in the Italian peninsula. Inevitably much of this part is little more than a compendium of dates and events, interspersed with sweeping generalizations. Thus in Chapter 11 Salvadori argues that the cultural unity of the peoples inhabiting Italy was attained through the expansion of the ancient Roman Republic and the centurieslong identification of Italy with Rome. The thesis of the next chapter is that the fragmentation of the Middle Ages was responsible for today's deep-seated regional differences. Catholicism, which "was molded ideologically and institutionally during the early Middle Ages and has been modified but not basically changed since then," is the subject of the fourth chapter. Next the author discusses the evolution of the Italian language and comments on those classics that have formed the basis for much of Italian education. In Chapter vi he takes up the early modern period, when foreign overlordship and the Counter Reformation produced new and dominant (and generally unfortunate) traits of national character. The nineteenth century is the subject of Chapter vii.

Salvadori's account will be useful to those who wish to have a concise summary of Italian history, and his interpretations will often be of interest to specialists, but his book could have been much improved if he and his editor had spent more time on it. Throughout the text there are far too many misspellings and strange uses of words, and the list of suggested readings, though helpful, is full of errors and omissions. It is regrettable, too, that no first names are provided either in the index or the text for many of the people mentioned by the author.

Vanderbilt University

CHARLES F. DELZELL

I BAGLIONI. By *Baleoneus Astur*. ([Florence: Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki.] 1964. Pp. 502. L. 9,000.)

THE Baglioni were the leading family of Perugia during the Renaissance and from the fourteenth century *de facto* lords of the city under the overlordship of the popes. The relationship between the Baglioni and the papacy fluctuated; until the sixteenth century papal rule was more or less nominal, but in the sixteenth century the popes made it real, and, under Paul III, Perugia was reduced to complete submission. In addition to their uneasy relationship with the popes, the Baglioni had to contend with rival factions in the city, and bloodshed and violence were frequent, even endemic. After the loss of their lordship, members of the family continued to be prominent in Perugia and elsewhere. The military pro-

fession was always their chief occupation, and Baglioni fought and died bravely in many wars and for a variety of masters.

The story is colorfully told in this book by a member of the family. It is full of vivid and bloody incidents, including family massacres, papal intrigues, and heroic deaths in lost causes. At the beginning the book tends to be episodic and anecdotal, but it improves as it goes along, perhaps because of the greater availability of materials, and achieves a more sustained narrative quality, while also dealing with subjects of broader scope and more general interest. A sort of climax is reached in the detailed and moving account of the siege of Florence in 1529-1530, which ended with the victory of the Spanish, imperial, and papal forces, the return of the Medici, and the extinction of the last Florentine republic.

Florence had entrusted its defense in the siege to Malatesta Baglioni, who negotiated the terms of the surrender instead of trying to fight to the end in a hopeless cause. For this he has been accused by some of betraying the city, while others have defended him for having made the best arrangement possible and sparing Florence the horrors of a sack. The author devotes the longest chapter of the book to his defense. It is an excellent chapter, but on the whole the book suffers from an excess of family piety. The Baglioni were often violent and passionate men, with a reputation for treachery and such other peccadillos as parricide and incest. In other words, for a ruling family in Renaissance Italy, they were just plain folks, but the author constantly defends them. In some chapters, particularly at the end of the book where he discusses the Baglioni tradition of culture and fails to find anything very impressive, he comes close to falling into the kind of thing that Osbert Lancaster lampoons in his book on Drayneflete.

The book is not a history of Perugia. Constitutional, political, and diplomatic developments are subordinated to the story of the family; economic history is virtually ignored. No attempt is made to do for Perugia what Gene Brucker has been doing for Florence. If these facts are remembered, and the book is read for what it is, it is interesting, informative, and quite often exciting.

University of Kansas

WILLIAM GILBERT

ITALIAN REFORMATION STUDIES IN HONOR OF LAELIUS SOCINUS. Edited by *John A. Tedeschi*. [Università di Siena, Facoltà di Giurisprudenza. Collana di Studi "Pietro Rossi," New Series, Volume IV.] (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, Editore. 1965. Pp. viii, 331. L. 4,000.)

THREE pieces in this collection have to do directly with Laelius Socinus: a discussion of his influence (not great) upon Calvin's doctrines of the merits of Christ and the assurance of faith by David Willis; a translation of four letters from Laelius' correspondence with Calvin by Ralph Lazzaro; and genealogical notes on the Sozzini family, together with a list of the writings and letters of Laelius and a note on the text of his *Confession of Faith*, by John A. Tedeschi. The rest deal with other personalities and aspects of the Reformation in Italy. I would single out George Huntston Williams' biographical sketch of Camillo Renato as containing much new material and Oddone Ortolani's analysis of the nonrevolutionary spirit of the Italian reformers as the most stimulating contribution. Ortolani does not work out all the implications, but he offers some food for thought on the complex

and even contradictory heritage of the Renaissance to the Italian mentality. Josephine von Henneberg's translation of Faustus Socinus' unpublished essay on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* provides evidence that Faustus had more philosophical training than previously believed. Ruth Prelowski offers a translation of the *Beneficio di Cristo*, attributing it to Don Benedetto of Mantua and distinguishing between its Valdesian inspiration and its debt to the German Reformation. The other contributions are: five reviews by Roland Bainton of books by Delio Cantimori, Benedetto Nicolini (two books), Oddone Ortolani, and Domingo Ricart; a translation by Dorothy Rounds of Camillo Renato's *Carmen* attacking Calvin for the burning of Michael Servetus; a translation by David Pingree of the apology for Servetus of Alphonsus Lyncurius (Caelius Secundus Curio); a translation of the proceedings of the heresy trial of the Modenese evangelical, Pietro Antonio da Cervia, by Tedeschi and Henneberg. The latter two of these translations are based on the manuscript texts.

This is a book that offers few surprises, that, on the whole, helps to fill out the picture of the Reformation in Italy along already established lines; one of those "useful" books that it is difficult to get excited about, but, once in existence, difficult to do without.

Rutgers University

DONALD WEINSTEIN

ALLE ORIGINI DEL RISORGIMENTO: I TESTI DI UN "CELEBRE" CONCORSO (1796). In three volumes. By *Armando Saitta*. [Italia e Europa: Collezione per il primo Centenario dell'Unità.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1964. Pp. xxxv, 337; 436; 477. L. 4,000 each.)

In 1796 the General Administration of Lombardy offered a prize, probably with the consent of General Bonaparte, for an essay on the theme "What form of free government is best suited to the happiness of Italy?" The winning essay is well known, and the contest has remained famous, a subject of obvious interest to historians. Now Professor Saitta has assembled all that can be found of the essays submitted in that competition. He scrupulously notes the errors made by preceding historians and produces an amended list of entrants. There were, he finds, fifty-seven essays submitted of which thirty-six have been found and reprinted here; an appendix contains eight contemporary essays on a similar theme that were not written for the contest (though some of them were previously thought to have been). Together they provide an interesting if very uneven historical source. Many of the authors of these essays remain anonymous; there is uncertainty in the identification of some others. Two essays are over one hundred pages in length, but nearly half the items printed here take only ten pages or less; some are incomplete. Even so, we have a thousand pages that can reveal much to the historian. There seems every reason to accept Saitta's identifications, explained in his general introduction and in brief notes before most of the essays (aside from this his editorial hand remains unobtrusive), and to look forward to the subsequent volume of his comment and analysis.

All the contestants agreed that true *felicità* required a republic; the more conservative stressed the virtues of a "mixed" government, but the majority were

pure democrats. Nearly all demanded abolition of noble titles and aristocratic privilege. The debt these Italian Jacobins owed to Montesquieu and Rousseau was enormous. If some almost swooned before their own rhetorical calisthenics and classical erudition, most seriously meant to face real issues. They expressed considerable admiration for the French. A few almost groveled, but a large number declared that an Italian constitution should be no mere copy of the French one. Their reasons were not always so clear. Some merely noted the less volatile temperament of Italians. Many felt that the French had made too much of the problem of religion. Yet often those who would avoid all conflict with the Church quietly praised natural religion or the suppression of all theology save the Bible. Ornate elaborations of constitutional projects were mixed with considerable respect for custom and local differences.

Most of these essayists were sensitive to French power in Italy and rather candid about its dangers as they tried to convince themselves that the true interest of France required the independence of Italy. The discussions of Italy's long history of invasion and subjection were strikingly like those of the later *Risorgimento*, and there was a kind of defensive nationalism in their fervent insistence that neither history, climate, nor Italian temperament made Italian freedom impossible. For most of these writers freedom required then, as it would two generations later, a centralized, national state.

Finally, there is a certain comfort in noting that 170 years later the judges still seem to have been right in awarding their prize to the essay of Melchiorre Gioia.

University of Michigan

RAYMOND GREW

L'INDUSTRIA LANIERA IN PIEMONTE NEL SECOLO XIX. By *Valerio Castronovo*. [Archivio economico dell'unificazione italiana, Series 2, Volume IX.] (Turin: ILTE—Industria Libreria Tipografica Editrice. 1964. Pp. xxiv, 685.)

IL BANCO DI NAPOLI NELLA VITA ECONOMICA NAZIONALE (1863–1883). By *Luigi De Rosa*. (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica Napoli. 1964. Pp. xi, 569.)

Economic history has a place of honor in Italy. Not only does it attract scholars of exceptional merit, but it has enlisted the enthusiastic support of men of affairs. These two studies attest to these views. Both are by masters of their craft, and both were made possible by business concerns. The former is one of a series of economic histories edited by Carlo Cipolla of the University of Pavia and financed by the state's business holding company, the *Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale*; the second was aided in many ways by the Bank of Naples, not the least having been that the bank opened its archives to the author.

The volume by Valerio Castronovo is an excellent complement to G. Quazza, *L'industria laniera e cotoniera in Piemonte dal 1831 al 1861* (1961), and L. Bulferetti, *Agricoltura, industria e commercio in Piemonte nel secolo XVIII* (1962). The author makes clear how the woolen industry moved from widely dispersed production at the handicraft and later putting-out stages to production in factories by machines driven by power from mechanical sources. Inasmuch as water power was the prime mover when the shift to mechanization took place,

woolen mills settled along the rivers flowing from the Alps, as at Susa and Biella, and there they have remained even to the present time. Their locations were not particularly economical, for transportation of raw materials from ports and of finished products to markets was costly. Moreover, trained labor was not abundant, nor power great enough to permit large-scale operations. For the most part, entrepreneurs in the woolen trades were local people who developed their plants by plowing back their earnings and who kept their concerns as family enterprises.

The author maintains that the low tariff policy of Cavour stimulated the adoption of machines around the middle of the century, but he presents plentiful evidence to indicate that woolen manufacturers knew of the advantages to be gained from the new machines and sought them avidly in England, Belgium (Verviers), and Austria even before protection had been reduced. He also provides much information about costs of production, earnings, labor conditions and wage rates, marketing, and the drive for protective tariffs which eventuated in the tariff of 1887.

The volume by Professor De Rosa has to do with the other end of the peninsula and with the leading banking institution of the region. His study is in a sense a sequel to the study by Domenico Demarco, *Il Banco delle Due Sicilie* (1958). Because banking reaches into so many aspects of economic life, this volume is perforce at once a history of the Bank of Naples from unification to the end of a period of inconvertibility of the currency and an economic history of the Neapolitan region. Its author makes the very important point that the building of railways and the improvement in transportation generally facilitated the importation of industrial goods and injured handicraft production. Unfortunately, few entrepreneurs came forward in the south to establish manufactures, in part because locational factors at the time were not favorable, with the result that the bank had few opportunities to make industrial loans. Most of its lending was in agriculture and to a lesser extent in commerce. Restricted as it was, the bank did grow rapidly in these years. The bank's history illustrates well the role of banking in an underdeveloped economy.

Columbia University

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

IL PROBLEMA DELLO SVILUPPO INDUSTRIALE NELL'ETÀ DELLA
DESTRA. By *Giuseppe Are*. (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi. 1965. Pp. 358. L. 2,5000.)

THE title of this work is to be taken literally. The book concerns not the early industrialization of Italy itself, but the debate conducted between 1861 and 1876 on how this might best be accomplished. In his introduction Giuseppe Are remarks that "researches of a predominantly quantitative nature" into Italy's post-unification economy have been plentiful in recent years. In contrast Are offers a "reconstruction of the sociological and cultural background that conditioned the process of industrialization." A vast, not to say limitless, field is thereby revealed, and the author confesses that his book of essays "does not pretend to do justice even in part to the many and weighty questions of which it treats." Are issues, moreover, a further disclaimer of intent; he eschews any analysis of the groups involved in the debate over industrialization. Thus the book's purpose is reduced

to "tracing only the discussions of these years" and their immediate social and political ambience. For this the author finds sufficient source material in contemporary periodicals, parliamentary debates, and chamber of commerce reports often contained in government publications.

What Are illustrates is a drastic shift in Italy's conventional wisdom from Cavourian *laissez faire* to the recognition of the necessity for a national plan of industrialization. The former body of belief, which held sway in 1861, degenerated at its worst into a blind faith in the formation of capital through agriculture, in national unification as a "sufficient motor" for industrialization, and in the power of individual enterprise. The latter school of thought succeeded in asserting itself by 1876; the political upheaval of that year was to some extent a refutation of doctrinaire liberalism. The way was thus prepared for a policy of economic nationalism and, some would add (although Are skirts this issue), to a species of state capitalism.

This book advances no new or unexpected interpretation; rather it fills in details of a long-recognized trend in Italian economic thought. The documentation is thorough, and where the footnotes are expository they are most useful both in the way of bibliographic *résumés* and of suggestions for further investigation. (On the other hand, as with so many Italian publications, an actual bibliography is irritatingly lacking.) Are writes clearly, and his approach is dispassionate almost to a fault. By shunning any analysis of industry's pressure groups and by allowing their representatives to speak in their own rhetoric, the impression is created, however inadvertently, that the industrialization lobby was motivated solely by a disinterested concern for Italian *civiltà*. We know perfectly well that considerations of the countinghouse and the annual dividend were uppermost.

University of Pennsylvania

ALAN CASSELS

MOMENTI E FIGURE DEL RISORGIMENTO ROMANO. By *Alberto M. Ghisalberti*. [L'Età del Risorgimento. Studi e testi, Number 5.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1965. Pp. xv, 294. L. 2,200.)

ALBERTO M. Ghisalberti, recently retired as professor of the history of the *Risorgimento* at the University of Rome and still editor of the *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, is one of our principal authorities in the field of nineteenth-century Italian history in general and the Roman nineteenth century in particular. Ghisalberti here describes himself as a "'risorgimentista' all' antica," which for him means a refusal to "radically detach" himself from a "traditional" approach to the field. We may therefore expect his firm opposition to the recent work of "revisionist" historians, whether of clerical, Marxist, or radical persuasions. In the preface to this work, he does give rather rough treatment to Denis Mack Smith, the more or less radical English historian of the *Risorgimento*. He charges that Mack Smith's revisionist interpretation of Cavour is an example of the "excessive ease with which scholars of undeniable capability—even though their work does lie between journalism and history—deal with the documents on which they construct their theories."

This latest work of a most prolific author is not a historical synthesis of nineteenth-century Roman history, but rather a collection of random essays published

between 1948 and 1962 and unified only by chronology (nearly all deal with mid-nineteenth-century Rome) and by the writer's "bon plaisir."

The heart of the collection is contained in three essays, the first a fine description of the origins and work of the "Council of Deputies at Rome in 1848." The other two are devoted to Mazzini and the background to his assumption of power as the leading "triumvir" on March 29, 1849. Ghisalberti emphasizes the essentially conservative character of the Council of Deputies and, indeed, of Pius IX's entire "Statuto" of 1848. Despite the inefficacy of this first Roman parliament, Ghisalberti concludes that it did provide invaluable experience for a number of future members of the parliament of the kingdom of Italy.

Ghisalberti's principal theme in the Mazzinian essays is his assertion that there was considerable and constant opposition to the Genoese leader even within democratic circles in revolutionary Rome. He opposes such scholars as Franco Rodelli, who see a greater unanimity of Roman democrats around Mazzini's "national" ideas. Democratic opposition to Mazzini is amply demonstrated by Ghisalberti, but its importance in critical moments is perhaps not fully demonstrated.

American readers will probably take special interest in Ghisalberti's sympathetic portrait of our first diplomatic representative accredited to the Papal States, Jacob L. Martin of North Carolina. Although death cut short his mission, Martin's knowledge of Italian and enthusiasm for the reform program of Pius IX brought much good will to the United States.

Rutgers University

JOHN M. CAMMETT

LES SLAVES: PEUPLES ET NATIONS. By *Roger Portal*. [Collection *Destins du Monde*.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1965. Pp. 518. 69 fr.)

THE eminent French Slavist, Roger Portal, has accomplished a tour de force: an intelligible summary of the history of the Slavs. His achievement is all the more remarkable considering the requirements imposed upon him by the editors of the historical series "Destins du Monde." Designed more for the "grand public cultivé" (*et riche*) than for the historian, this work includes no less than two hundred illustrations, photographs, portraits, sketches, statistical tables, and other miscellany covering almost one-fifth of the five hundred printed pages. The format itself, spectacular rather than utilitarian, further reduces the actual content of Portal's study to approximately three hundred ordinary pages. Yet the author has written a highly imaginative collection of essays on the evolution of the Slavs, eastern, western, and southern, from the eighth century to the present. He discusses the problems of the three branches separately within well-defined chronological periods, never yielding to the temptation of belaboring the *mystique* of the "Slavic World" or "l'âme slave." One of the volume's greatest merits, indeed, lies in the excellent introductory statement devoted to the witty refutation of myth and exaggeration.

Portal does not attempt the impossible: a total synthesis of Slavic history. Nor does he torment the reader with arcane allusions, geopolitical acrobatics, or straining "universal" historical principles. Instead, Portal has selected the most representative and significant problems of the history of the Slavic peoples, presented

a coherent outline and interpretation of each component branch, and drawn general conclusions applicable to all Slavic nations.

His ideas, comments, and data on the Russians and Poles are distinctly superior to those on the Czechs, Slovaks, and southern Slavs; in fact the history of Russia is treated with far greater insight than that of the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires. Readers concerned with intellectual and cultural problems as such will also be disappointed. But the uninitiated layman, the student, or even the specialist will find the book's greatest merit in the sophisticated analysis of complex socioeconomic and political problems of Slavic and East European history.

Wayne State University

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALAŢI

THE BALKANS. By *Charles and Barbara Jelavich*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. xi, 148. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

Two well-known Balkan historians have struggled valiantly in this volume to fulfill an impossible assignment. The statement describing the series in which this book appears defines the aim as being to "summarize the chief historical trends and influences that have contributed to each nation's present-day character, problems and behavior . . ." and "to achieve a fresh synthesis and original interpretation." But the difficulty here is that there are five nations rather than one, and the period covered for each is about fifteen hundred years. Concretely, this means that Greece, Rumania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Albania are dealt with, one after the other, during the medieval centuries, the half millennium of Ottoman rule, the nineteenth-century national awakening, the First World War, the interwar years, the Second World War, and finally the post-1945 period. And all this in 135 pages!

If the authors had ignored the first of the stated objectives and had confined themselves to "fresh synthesis and original interpretation," they could have made a valuable contribution. Balkan historiography is now at the stage where there is urgent need for precisely such innovation. On the other hand, it is manifestly unfair to criticize the authors for not writing something other than what they were assigned. Yet the fact remains that in accepting the assignment, and executing it faithfully, the unavoidable outcome was this encyclopedic summary, with the interpretations, if they may be so called, limited to the final six pages.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that it is a tribute to the authors' skill and mastery of the subject that this work is as judicious and integrated as it is. A recently published work of a similar nature on this topic demonstrates how different the outcome might have been in less capable hands.

Northwestern University

L. S. STAVRIANOS

DIE RUMÄNISCHE NATIONALBEWEGUNG IN DER BUKOWINA UND DER DAKO-ROMANISMUS: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DES NATIONALITÄTENKAMPFES IN ÖSTERREICH-UNGARN. By *Erich Prokopowitsch*. [Studien zur Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, Number 3.] (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1965. Pp. 192. DM 28.)

THE virulent controversy raging over the relative strength of the various national movements in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the extent to which each contributed to the eventual dissolution of the Empire by-passed until 1965 the Rumanian national movement in Bucovina. The rival positions, expressed most vituperatively at the Budapest Conference of May 1964 on the downfall of the Habsburg monarchy, had avoided any discussion of areas now under Russian domination. Erich Prokopowitsch, the Austrian historian, has none of the caution displayed by the historians of Eastern Europe regarding Bucovina; nor does he share the prejudices of prewar writers on minority problems. He has thus produced the first lucid and impartial study on the Rumanian national movement in the former Austrian province.

Unfortunately the monograph is hardly more than an intelligent summary of documents contained in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv and of several minor contributions on a variety of socioeconomic, political, and cultural problems related in one way or another to Bucovina. The author traces the development of the Rumanian national movement from 1774 to 1918 within the total framework of nineteenth-century Rumanian nationalism. He emphasizes cultural rather than economic and political transformations, although the systematic summary statements on the development of the Rumanian press, educational system, and religious life are followed by brief discussions of economic change and political organization. An attempt is also made to analyze the relationship between the Rumanian and other national movements, particularly the Ruthenian.

Prokopowitsch was clearly handicapped by his inability to secure access to sources located in Russian and Rumanian repositories and by his almost exclusive reliance on materials in German. Under the circumstances the study can only serve as an introduction to the subject. It is to be hoped that the *Kommission für die Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, the sponsor of the publication, will encourage further research on the extremely complex nationality problems of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

Wayne State University

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALAȚI

GEORGE JARVIS: HIS JOURNAL AND RELATED DOCUMENTS. Edited with introduction, prologues, sequel and notes by *George Georgiades Arnaķis*. With the collaboration of *Eurydice Demetracopoulou*. [Americans in the Greek Revolution, Number 1.] (Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies. 1965. Pp. xxxii, 282, 8 plates.)

THE philhellenic movement—that product of the Hellenic revival, the love for liberty, and a sense of Christian solidarity—which had swept over all of Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had found fertile ground also across the Atlantic, especially when the Greek Revolution broke out in 1821. The story of American philhellenism has been studied in the last forty years by E. Earle, S. Lascaris, M. Cline, Th. Vaghenas and E. Demetracopoulou, D. Dakin, and S. Larrabee, who have illuminated its various aspects. The movement held an important place in the American public mind throughout the entire course of the Greek War of Independence and won devoted friends such as Edward Everett and Matthew Carey. Philhellenic committees were established in the main cities of the

United States, funds were raised, and relief was sent to the fighting Greeks, while a number of young Americans decided to join them as volunteers in their struggle for freedom. Among the volunteers probably no one saw more actual fighting than George Jarvis, who went to Greece in 1822 from Altona, near Hamburg, and gave his unfailing service, both on sea and land, to the Greek warriors. He immediately won the affection and esteem of his comrades in arms, and from a simple guerrilla soldier he had advanced to the rank of lieutenant general by the time of his death in Argos in 1828. It is fortunate that Jarvis should have left a journal of his experiences during the Greek Revolution, which is now published for the first time along with a number of related documents by two such painstaking scholars as Professor Arnakis and Miss Demetracopoulou.

The editorial work, which leaves nothing to be desired, must certainly have been an arduous task since the manuscript is so carelessly written and employs four different languages: English, German, French, and Greek. The editors have provided the text with an excellent introduction in which the manuscript is described and its problems discussed, and they have accompanied it with useful commentaries and explanatory notes. Thus they have made available to the student of the history of the Greek War of Independence a new source, which, although it cannot be compared in importance with the existing memoirs of other warriors, such as Makriyannis and Kasomoulis, is nevertheless an interesting and vivid account from the battlefield itself.

University of California, Berkeley

GEORGE C. SOULIS

A NAGYBIRTOKOS ARISZTOKRÁCIA ELLENFORRADALMI SZEREPE 1848-49-BEN. Volume III, IRATOK: 1849 MARCIUS-1850 ÁPRILIS [The Counterrevolutionary Role of the Landholding Aristocracy in 1848-49. Volume III, Documents: March 1849-April 1850]. Compiled and edited by *Erzsébet Andics*. [Magyarország Újabbkori Történetének Forrásai.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1965. Pp. 543. Ft. 98.)

1848 SZÉCHENYIJE ÉS SZÉCHENYI 1848-A [The Széchenyi of 1848 and the 1848 of Széchenyi]. By *György Spira*. [A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1964. Pp. 368. Ft. 50.)

A SZÉCHENYI-ÁBRÁZOLÁS FŐ IRÁNYAI A MAGYAR TÖRTÉNETI-RÁSBAN (1851-1918) [Leading Portrayals of Széchenyi in Hungarian Historiography (1851-1918)]. By *Zoltán Varga*. [Magyar Történelmi Társulat, Tudománytörténeti Tanulmányok, Number 3.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1963. Pp. 374. Ft. 58.)

THESE three volumes have one aspect in common: they discuss in part or entirely the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-1849. The first work contains 239 documents in various languages from the period that saw the last Hungarian victories, the Russian intervention, the defeat of the Revolution, and the establishment of the Austrian military administration in Hungary. Gathered in many Hungarian and foreign archives, these documents were written by and addressed to opponents of the Revolution whose socioeconomic background was much more diverse than that indicated by the title. From these documents we learn as much about the

activities of the revolutionaries as about those of their adversaries. The contents of this volume are, therefore, not as tendentious as the title might indicate. This careful selection of papers brings to our attention interesting and often new details and is a welcome addition to our collection of sources available in print.

Mr. Spira's volume is devoted to a reappraisal of the position taken and the part played by the great Hungarian patriot, Count István Széchenyi, during the Revolution. Széchenyi is usually classed with the moderates by 1848. Although he became Minister of Public Works in the revolutionary government headed by Count Lajos Batthyány, but dominated by Kossuth, Széchenyi is generally regarded as the latter's chief antagonist. Spira attempts to reverse this interpretation and tries to show that, in spite of occasional disagreements and misunderstandings, the two men collaborated, and that Széchenyi fully agreed with the course the Revolution took. The new thesis is based on a wealth of documents, thorough research, and is supported by good scholarship and a clever use of the material, but the arguments remain unconvincing. Some of the documents used by Spira could easily mean the opposite of what the author believes they prove. One could also cite a great number of other papers, not used by Spira, supporting the older interpretation. This book is thought provoking, but we need more proof before we can accept the thesis.

That Spira follows a long line of Hungarian historians, writers, newspapermen, and even engineers who tried to understand and evaluate Széchenyi's work and ideas becomes clear from Mr. Varga's volume. This work reviews all major and even most of the minor Széchenyi studies published in Hungary between 1851, when Zsigmond Kemény brought out the first biography of his famous compatriot, and the end of the First World War. Very well written, the volume covers not only biographies but also short studies, articles, specialized treatises, newspaper articles, and evaluations appearing in various general works. Varga also includes the views of the critics who disagreed with or followed the views expressed by the major authors whose works he discusses. One must not agree with everything Varga adds on his own, but everyone interested in the extensive Széchenyi literature will be grateful to have this study as a basic guide.

University of Washington

PETER F. SUGAR

AZ ELLENFORRADALOM TÖRTÉNETE MAGYARORSZÁGON, 1919-1921 [A History of the Counterrevolution in Hungary, 1919-1921]. By *Dezső Nemes*. [Magyar Történelmi Társulat.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1962. Pp. 503. Ft. 50.)

THE Hungarian Soviet government, established on March 21, 1919, and associated with the name of Béla Kun, fell on August 1 of the same year. A former aide-de-camp of Emperor Franz Joseph and rear admiral of the Austro-Hungarian Navy, Miklós Horthy was proclaimed Hungary's regent governor on March 21, 1920, a post he held for a quarter of a century. An anti-Communist, antisocialist, antiliberal, and anti-Semitic White Terror followed the Red Terror, anticipating the fascist period of history. "Subversives" were killed, jailed, or lodged in detention camps. Army officers headed some of the Terror detachments. Gradually the extreme Right spent its dynamism, and in April 1921 Count István Bethlen

became Hungary's Prime Minister, staying at the helm for ten years. His regime saw the end of the naked terror and the institutionalization of reaction. Dezső Nemes' book covers the period between Kun and Bethlen.

The author seems to have drawn on three main sources: the archives of the Horthy ministries; those of the Communists (Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Labor party); and the diary in four volumes of Lieutenant Colonel Pál Prónay, a Terror detachment chief. Excerpts of the hitherto unpublished Prónay diaries speak of a plan of German, Austrian, and Hungarian extremists to stage a Right-wing *Putsch* in Austria and to break into the Czech Sudeten region. This was to occur in 1921, when Austria was about to take possession of the Burgenland, prewar Hungary's German-speaking extreme west, assigned to Vienna by the victorious Allies. Neither of the projects materialized. The book claims that even at the height of the White Terror the Communists managed to keep active, publishing clandestine reports and organizing strikes. The documentation of these claims is very scanty.

Much of the book is devoted to the retelling of such well-known facts as the politicians' maneuvers for leading roles; the Treaty of Trianon; Emperor Karl's attempt to regain his Hungarian throne; and the barter of leading Hungarian Communists for prominent Hungarian officers held as hostages by the Soviets after the war.

The author tends to present his cast of characters as angels and devils. Anticipating the cold war, he lines up post-World War I America with the devils, particularly General Harry Hill Bandholtz, US chairman of the Inter-Allied Military Commission to Hungary. "Four imperialist great powers," the author writes, "the United States, England, France and Italy, organized the boycott and military intervention against the Hungarian proletarian regime." Much of the book is in the same vein.

Fairleigh Dickinson University

EMIL LENGYEL

A MÜNCHENI EGYEZMÉNY LÉTREJÖTTE ÉS MAGYARORSZÁG KÜLPOLITIKÁJA, 1936–1938 [The Origins of the Munich Agreement and Hungarian Foreign Policy, 1936–1938]. Compiled and edited by *Magda Ádám*. [A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, Diplomáciai Iratok Magyarország Külpolitikájához, 1936–1945, Number 2.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1965. Pp. 1029. Ft. 170.)

MAGYARORSZÁG KÜLPOLITIKÁJA A II. VILÁGHÁBORÚ KITÖRÉSÉNEK IDŐSZAKÁBAN, 1939–1940 [Hungarian Foreign Policy at the Outbreak of World War II, 1939–1940]. Compiled and edited by *Gyula Juhász*. [A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, Diplomáciai Iratok Magyarország Külpolitikájához, 1936–1945, Number 4.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1962. Pp. 904. Ft. 160.)

A TELEKI-KORMÁNY KÜLPOLITIKÁJA, 1939–1941 [The Foreign Policy of the Teleki Government, 1939–1941]. By *Gyula Juhász*. [A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1964. Pp. 368. Ft. 60.)

ANSCHLUSS 1938: AUSZTRIA ÉS A NEMZETKÖZI DIPLOMÁCIA, 1933–

1938 [*Anschluss* 1938: Austria and International Diplomacy, 1933-1938]. By *Lajos Kerekes*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1963. Pp. 407. Ft. 65.)

EMLÉKIRATOK ÉS VALÓSÁG MAGYARORSZÁG MÁSODIK VILÁGHÁBORÚS SZEREPÉRŐL: HORTHYSTA POLITIKA A MÁSODIK VILÁGHÁBORÚBAN [Myth and Reality concerning Hungary's Role in the Second World War: Horthy's Policy in the Second World War]. By *György Ránki*. [A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete.] ([Budapest:] Kossuth Könyvkiadó. 1964. Pp. 302. Ft. 21.)

THE massive publications of the Historical Studies Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences contain diplomatic documents transcending localized events. The volume by Ádám covers a particularly crucial period, 1936 to the end of 1938. At the time Hitler seized the Sudetenland, Hungary was ready to array its forces against the territories of Czechoslovakia that contained large Magyar settlements. Berlin called off the mobilization; it had other plans. Hungary sought to wreck the Little Entente of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. Since the Budapest government could not afford to embroil itself on three fronts, however, it made diplomatic approaches to Yugoslavia. That country, being the neighbor of Italy, was considered the operational terrain of *il Duce*.

The book by Juhász shows Hungary as a focal point of the 1939-1940 "phony war." The Hungarians were traditional friends of the Poles, comrades in arms in the feud of the West against the East. Although Budapest was in the Axis camp, it remained neutral in the German-Polish war, and its sympathies were with the Polish neighbor. The Hungarians were close to Italy and tried to get even closer. Its representatives maintained close contact with Foreign Minister Ciano, and even Mussolini's doors were open to them. (That could not be said of Hitler's door.) From Italian sources they received information considered top secret in those days. Rome was deeply distressed by Hitler's highhanded action against the Czechs and promised direct help to the Hungarians against German aggression. While dreading Hitler's recklessness, the Hungarians were preparing for a showdown with their Rumanian neighbors, or perhaps were pretending to prepare for it. Hitler stopped them in their tracks by announcing the second Vienna award, returning to them the northern portion of Transylvania. The Hungarian mission chiefs whose reports are reproduced in this volume were skeptical of Germany's ultimate victory.

The books by Ádám and Juhász contain many diplomatic documents pertaining to Hungary's conduct of foreign affairs; they are well organized and footnoted, with German summaries.

The virtue of the volume covering the foreign policy of Count Paul Teleki's government is that it provides the most detailed narrative of the events leading up to his tragic end. Teleki was convinced that Hungary's place was not on the side of the *Reich*. When events threatened to overwhelm him he sought to avert danger by signing a friendship pact with Yugoslavia. A few months later he was forced to break that pact by opening Hungary's gates to Hitler's armies on their way to the conquest of the southern Slav kingdom. Teleki did not survive the betrayal forced upon him, and he committed suicide on April 3, 1941.

Kerekes' book concerning the *Anschluss* places Hungary's reaction to the

anti-Nazi policy of Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss into sharper focus. Even though swept into the pro-German camp eventually, the Hungarians feared the *Anschluss* for two main reasons: it would bring an aggressive *Reich* to their door, and it would interfere with an orderly marketing of their agricultural produce in Austria. From diplomatic documents reproduced in this volume it seems that the formation of a united front among the Austrians, Hungarians, Yugoslavs, and Poles was contemplated to counteract Nazi encroachments, but the plan never materialized.

Ránki's volume, contrasting Hungary's World War II role in "reality" and as represented in the recollections of leading politicians, is polemical. The author takes issue with statements in the memoirs of Horthy, Premier Kállay, and others. The book gives a detailed description of Hungary's World War II participation against the Soviets on the Voronezh front where its Second Army was ground to pieces: about a hundred thousand dead, of whom some seven thousand were frozen to death. The author also details how clumsily Horthy sought to take Hungary out of the Nazi camp when it was too late.

Fairleigh Dickinson University

EMIL LENGYEL

RUSSIA AND THE CHOLERA, 1823-1832. By *Roderick E. McGrew*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 229. \$6.00.)

Russia and the Cholera contains a preface, six chapters, an epilogue, an appendix presenting statistics of cholera mortality in Moscow during the epidemic of September 1830 to January 1831, notes relegated to the end of the volume, a bibliography, and an index.

The preface speaks of "three widely separated sources" of inspiration for the study: Professor William L. Langer's presidential address to the American Historical Association, which "provided an historiographical milieu" and in particular the central theme of a "traumatic shock on a societal level"; Professor Louis Chevalier's investigations of the cholera in Paris; and the author's colleague and friend, "Professor Charles F. Mullett, whose major work on the bubonic plague in England showed precisely and empirically what Langer discussed synoptically and theoretically," and whose emphasis on medical history as an essential part of cultural history led to a corresponding stress in the present book.

After a general chapter on "The Cholera and History," Professor McGrew discusses "Russian Medicine and the Coming of the Cholera," "The Cholera Returns: Orenburg to Nizhny, 1829-1830," "Moscow, 1830," "The Summum: 1831," most of which is devoted to cholera in St. Petersburg, but which also deals with cholera and the Polish Revolution and other topics, and, finally, "Russian Medicine and the Cholera." The brief epilogue restates the author's views concerning the impact of cholera on Russia and what the cholera years revealed about Russian government, society, and medicine. The book is well written and attractively published.

McGrew's compact volume represents a distinct, if modest, contribution to several kinds of historical literature. It treats thoroughly and intelligently an important lengthy episode in the reign of Nicholas I. It adds to medical history a

careful, up-to-date study of a major epidemic. And it illuminates the evolution of medical science in Russia. While the author's method of approaching Russia in the first half of the nineteenth century through cholera and reaction to cholera produces little that is novel or striking, his analysis is on the whole highly competent, fair, and indeed convincing. McGrew is perhaps at his best in the discussion of the development of Russian medicine where he shows a sure touch and an appreciation of Russian contributions rarely found outside Soviet borders and a discrimination and a sophistication sadly lacking within them.

University of California, Berkeley

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

THE RUSSIAN ARMY UNDER NICHOLAS I, 1825-1855. By *John Shelton Curtiss*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 386. \$10.00.)

As far as Russian military history is concerned, the reign of Nicholas I is a strange record of initial victories over rebellious Decembrists and insurgent Poles at home and over Persians, Turks, and Magyars or Caucasian chieftains abroad. Together with the memories of the triumph over Napoleon it represented an impressive record indeed. Yet there was something rotten in the Empire of Nicholas I. Much of it was caused not by wickedness but by shortsightedness that brought a fiasco by the end of the reign. The devouring institution of serfdom and the practiced savage discipline demanded blind obedience and stifled all initiative. Young men were under the shadow of constant suspicion since Nicholas I was never able to forget the Decembrists. Leading positions, with a few exceptions, were held by elegant old generals who often proved empty husks. The army was trained more for magnificent parades than for combat. These unsavory facts should have been recognized as warning signals of the oncoming Crimean disaster, but Nicholas was incapable of detecting any forewarnings.

Such is the broad canvas on which Professor Curtiss draws the picture of military history in Russia during 1825-1855. His eighteen chapters give detailed descriptions of depressing petty intrigues that disturbed the army command and tended to undermine morale. With a discerning eye, the author wades through a mass of historical evidence with admirable skill and rare detachment. He includes accounts of life in the army, administrative corruption, and the part the army was compelled to play in repression of social unrest. All this makes the work instructive, enabling the student of history to pass melancholy judgment.

Curtiss has skillfully utilized a huge amount of available Russian materials. At the risk of being considered churlish, I might question a few minor points. Is it as definite as the author seems to convey that Alexander I died of cholera? Curtiss states with equal assurance that Nicholas was totally ignorant of Constantine's renunciation of his right to the throne; conflicting evidence challenges such a definite conclusion. Further, Curtiss states that General Miloradovich was shot by Kakhovskii and that "soldiers fired on him." The first is correct; the latter assertion is problematical.

These are minor points that should not detract from this solid scholarly piece of work. The author deserves hearty congratulations on his accomplishment. It is a particularly laudatory accomplishment amidst the emotionalism that dominates much of current writing and causes peculiar moral standards. Curtiss has added

another proud item to the slowly growing list of works on Russian prerevolutionary history in the United States.

Stanford in Germany

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

SONS AGAINST FATHERS: STUDIES IN RUSSIAN RADICALISM AND REVOLUTION. By *E. Lampert*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 405. \$10.10.)

RECENTLY Western scholars have devoted increasing attention to nineteenth-century Russian social thought, both for the insight it provides into the background of contemporary Soviet Communism and in its own right as a significant chapter in modern European history. *Sons against Fathers* is the second volume in a planned trilogy by Dr. Evgenii Lampert of Oxford University dealing with the leading revolutionary thinkers of tsarist Russia. The first, *Studies in Rebellion* (1957), concentrated on three founders of the Russian intellectual revolutionary tradition: Belinski, Bakunin, and Herzen. The present volume deals with three of their contemporaries and followers: Nikolai Chernyshevski, Nikolai Dobrolyubov, and Dmitri Pisarev. As in the initial installment of his study, Lampert prefaces his collection of three lengthy essays with a brief introduction that sketches in the political and social background against which the life and thought of his subjects are traced. The dominant social force moving Russia at mid-century was the reforms of Alexander II, which, as Lampert shows, failed in their irresolute objectives and succeeded only in antagonizing conservative opinion and inflaming radical thought. Instead of changing the old order in Russia they resulted in "a kind of retrenchment, a re-making, an enlargement, and elaboration of what was essentially the same. . . ." The disillusionment, frustration, and desperation of the radical young generation of the decade of the sixties—that peculiar group of rootless, humane, and extremist "sons" of the idealistic but ineffectual "fathers" of the preceding decade, as Dostoevski dubbed them—are examined through detailed studies of its three leading representatives.

Each of the three essays dealing respectively with Chernyshevski, Dobrolyubov, and Pisarev is a polished gem of biographical analysis. Lampert penetrates far beneath the surface of factual detail to probe the psychological and intellectual impulses that shaped each of these men with consummate skill, sympathetic sensitivity, and artistic insight. The result is a fascinating and revealing study of the complex forces that impelled feeling men of innate good will, entrapped in an immoral society, to turn to amoral means in order to achieve moral ends, of the intellectual and spiritual dilemmas to which this led, and of the legacy they bequeathed to their later successors. Despite its brilliant treatment of its three central figures, however, the book suffers from the fact that comprising, as it does, only part of a larger projected study, it has neither a true beginning nor an end and very little internal unity. Possibly Lampert should have waited to present his work in finished form with a comprehensive historical introduction and a final summing up of his reflections rather than in three separate installments. Had he done so, however, readers would have been denied for some time yet the immense benefit of this study and the volume that preceded it for a deeper compre-

hension of the ideas that have shaped the Russian intellectual and political tradition for the past century.

Colorado State University

SIDNEY HEITMAN

RUSSIA AND THE BALKAN ALLIANCE OF 1912. By *Edward C. Thaden*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1965. Pp. 192. \$7.50.)

A CAREFUL analysis of Volumes XVIII–XX, Second Series, of the *Russian Diplomatic Documents, 1878–1917* (1938–40), is the main basis for this re-examination of Russia's part in the formation of the Balkan League of 1912. To these documents the author has added an examination of the debates in the Duma, contemporary Russian newspapers, and other primary and secondary material. His thorough search is amply documented in thirty-three pages of footnotes and thirteen pages of bibliography. The book again demonstrates that the events of pre-1914 diplomacy are already well known. The added detail confirms rather than overturns the main outlines of Balkan policy as established by scholars since 1912.

Thaden feels that Otto Bickel in his *Russland und die Entstehung des Balkanbundes 1912* (1933) exaggerated the influence of Iszvolskii and Hartwig. It is, no doubt, too strong to say that the alliance of March 13, 1912, was Hartwig's work, but Thaden himself shows that Hartwig, and Russian policy in general, played a leading role in furthering the treaty negotiations. After mentioning the insertion of the clause in the alliance treaty that provided that "no offensive military operations were to be undertaken without the preliminary agreement of Russia," Thaden, with the wisdom of hindsight, adds the observation: "It was problematic, however, whether St. Petersburg could exercise much control if Serbia and Bulgaria should decide that it was expedient to attack Turkey." True enough, but the Russian statesmen certainly did not realize this in the spring of 1912. They assumed that through the alliance they could speak the deciding word. As Kokovtsov, the Russian President of the Council, told the English ambassador: "Bulgaria . . . would never move without Russia's permission. . . ."

The author makes several generalizations that are at least debatable. Is it entirely correct that after 1878 and up to 1905 "Official [Russian] policy returned to its traditional European and power-political orientation, and the public quickly forgot the Balkan Slavs while turning to more pressing internal problems"? Not all would agree that "Russia consistently avoided military and diplomatic adventures in the Balkans after 1908." Thaden himself gives an excellent account of Charykov's Straits adventure of 1911, and the backing of the Balkan League might well be classed as an adventure in power politics. The following is a safely guarded historical statement, but one may ask if the over-all impression is the correct one. "In a word, by 1911 much of the resentment Russian diplomats had felt for Austria-Hungary during the Bosnian Crisis had subsided." Did not the Russian diplomats down to 1914 still find the Bosnian affair hard to swallow? In a study where most statements are fully footnoted it is unfortunate that the author did not cite chapter and verse as to what historians he had in mind when he wrote: "It is not, however, fair to argue that Russia systematically prepared the Balkan alliance for aggressions against Austria and Germany."

But these are matters on which opinions may differ. They do not detract from the excellence of the scholarly monograph, one that I thoroughly enjoyed.

Bowdoin College

E. C. HELMREICH

THE LIFE OF LENIN. By *Louis Fischer*. [Harper Colophon Books.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. viii, 707. \$2.95.)

LOUIS FISCHER, since the 1920's a prolific reporter on the passing global and, particularly, the Soviet scene, is not a scholar. Unaccustomed to the mechanics of research, he ignores most scholarly and other materials on Lenin, Marxism, Bolshevism, and the formative years of the Soviet Republic.

At his best when he falls back upon the reporter's technique, he "interviews" many of Lenin's contemporaries, citing verbatim from the writings of such as Trotsky, Gorky, Radek, Makhno, Bertrand Russell, Emma Goldman, and H. G. Wells. He allows Lenin to "talk on" endlessly, joining the many passages from his collected works with the aid of a running historical narration. This device creates a highly dramatic motion picture of Lenin. But too often Fischer interrupts the action with homespun philosophizing, cold war sermonizing, and hindsight pontificating. His reasoning, too, is often fuzzy. Declaring Lenin to have been "as selfless as the human animal can be," he remarks on the same page that "Lenin and Trotsky were dictator types." Hailing Lenin for his Brest-Litovsk policy, which revealed his great statesmanship and "saved the state he had created," Fischer subsequently shows that the policy had made for a desperate situation and that Lenin had no idea what to do about it.

Fischer discusses various tracts of Lenin at considerable length. He demolishes *Imperialism* by demonstrating how events have disproved its thesis, and he skillfully captures Lenin studying philosophy in order to go after the detractors of materialism. He fails on the whole, however, to recognize that Lenin's ideas, forged in the heat of battle, were essentially tactical weapons, meant to be modified or even discarded according to the way his struggle for power or for leadership in the world revolution was going. There is then little point in sniping away at any ideological bastion, such as *State and Revolution*, which Lenin completed at a particular time for a special purpose, but which he did not necessarily expect to follow forever.

More than half of this "life" takes up the years 1918-1921. What little there is of 1917 might as well be omitted, Lenin barely managing to make an appearance. A chapter entitled "The Third International" runs five pages, while "Lenin on Art and Literature" rates twenty. Although Fischer's is the best of the trio of books on Lenin that have recently appeared, it will offer no serious challenge to the major biographer whom Lenin still awaits.

City College of New York

STANLEY W. PAGE

FORCED LABOUR AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: AN ENQUIRY INTO THE EXPERIENCE OF SOVIET INDUSTRIALIZATION. By *S. Swianiewicz*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 321. \$7.20.)

THIS work presents two engrossing types of analysis: the first is an elaborate and carefully reasoned study of the economic background of forced labor in the Soviet Union; the second is a sometimes blood-chilling examination of the significance this Soviet experience has for economically backward nations presently seeking ways to force the pace of their development. To summarize the author's theses about the Soviet evolution of forced labor: By 1930, Stalin's First Five-Year Plan had produced a labor bottleneck because conditions were such that only direct physical threat could frighten peasants away from their villages and into factories. Dekulakization, like the enclosures of British history, uprooted millions of peasants, many of whom, seeking food, employment, or a place to hide, entered the industrial labor force. Others, deported to camps, were compelled to work under the harsh rule of the OGPU and, subsequently, the NKVD. Thus Stalin achieved the required shift of agricultural manpower into industry.

Thereafter, the drift into slavery developed its own dynamics. The NKVD assumed responsibility for continuing the geographical redistribution of the labor force and, by expanding its empire, deliberately reduced the consumption of millions to starvation levels as a means of enabling the regime to continue its heavy investments for industrial growth. Professor Swianiewicz' estimates of the inordinate costs of the NKVD's machinery of coercion in relation to the forced savings actually achieved lead him to conclude that the great purges and swollen labor camps of the late 1930's actually made very little economic sense.

In the second major portion of his book (Part IV) the author discusses the principal lessons developing nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America may be drawing from Soviet experience. Stated simply: The leaders of these nations must initiate effective development programs as quickly as possible, an imperative made especially urgent by soaring rates of population growth. Lacking adequate conventional means of capital accumulation, they may be tempted, or feel compelled, to exploit their huge underemployed agricultural populations as forced labor—human capital to be invested for the sake of those who come after them. To do so, the author warns, is to risk suffering all the economic, social, intellectual, and moral evils of Soviet totalitarianism at its worst.

Although Swianiewicz emphasizes the influence of economic forces, his chapters are illuminated by a profound understanding of the complex interrelationships between economic, social, and political processes. He has produced a humane and sophisticated historical study and has made a significant contribution to modern development theory.

Michigan State University

ARTHUR E. ADAMS

POLITICAL SUCCESSION IN THE USSR. By *Myron Rush*. [Publication of the RAND Corporation and of the Research Institute on Communist Affairs of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 223. \$5.95.)

BRIEF, simple, and clear, this volume deals with one of the most interesting and significant issues facing the leaders of the world today: the absence of "a legitimate and recognized means for the transfer of power" in the Soviet Union and the uncertainties this inevitably introduces into world politics. Dr. Rush, a senior

research staff member of the RAND Corporation, is convinced that Soviet politics are qualitatively different between the era of firm personal rule and a period when the succession is in any way in doubt and that Western policy makers ought therefore to be prepared for periods of unstable equilibrium, indecision, and inaction. He was persuaded that the period after Khrushchev would be critical. He had completed this volume before Khrushchev was overthrown suddenly on October 15, 1964, and made only minor revisions and additions after that event. He admits that he was surprised by Khrushchev's overthrow, as was Khrushchev himself.

The problem Rush analyzes is such a stark one and his study is so brief that it adds little to what any scholar or government official who deals with the Soviet Union already knows. The historical accounts of the succession to Lenin and to Stalin provide a brief framework for Rush's analysis of the situation before 1964, but they are so limited, and our own knowledge of the interior workings of the Soviet power system in 1953 may be so restricted, that they are truly elementary. The theoretical analysis suffers from the same handicap. Both Rush and all of our specialists on Soviet politics may, moreover, be suffering from long years of Kremlinology, an infectious disease that will not be cured until we have far more data available than is now the case. The Soviet system may also have changed so gradually but so significantly over the past decade that we need a new framework for the study of Soviet totalitarianism, which may now have resolved the succession problem more than Rush had anticipated. At least, the stability in Soviet politics during the year since Khrushchev was ousted suggests that we have been too long impressed by Stalin's domination of the scene and of the system for a quarter of a century. The very ease with which Khrushchev was replaced and his policies continued suggests that we need to reconsider all of our theories about the Soviet system.

Indiana University

ROBERT F. BYRNES

FROM PURGE TO COEXISTENCE: ESSAYS ON STALIN'S & KHRUSHCHEV'S RUSSIA. By *David J. Dallin*. [Foundation for Foreign Affairs Series, Number 8.] (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 289. \$6.95.)

No scholar inside or outside the United States has done more to illuminate the Soviet scene than David Dallin. This collection of essays exhibits the same qualities of scholarship, insight, and sober analysis that one has come to expect from a study bearing his name. Some critics may find that the essays are too heterogeneous to be grouped in a book, yet there is a solid thread of unity—the discrepancy between the claims and the performance of the Soviet system—and the variety of subject matter actually adds to the reader's interest. Aside from a brilliant though not infallible forecast of things to come, made in 1919 in the midst of the Civil War, all of the essays were written between 1957 and 1960.

Half the book is devoted to a searching analysis of the Pyatakov-Radek trial of 1937 after it has been placed in its setting. It would be well if Americans who entertain illusions about Soviet Russia would read these pages. It would be even better if Americans who pride themselves on being the best-informed public in the world would read them. They would find the American ambassador completely

accepting the official version of the trial. They would find the Soviet expert of the chief organ that presumes to interpret the foreign scene to the American public assuring his readers that prosecutor Vyshinsky "is serious minded and an earnest seeker after truth." We now know, of course, officially and from on high, how earnestly Vyshinsky sought the truth. They would find the regular correspondent of the same newspaper (who once told me that he would not know six words of Russian) assuring his readers on the eve of the grand terror that Yezhov's replacement of Yagoda as head of the NKVD meant the end of the terror. And why? Because Yezhov was a man who knew how to smile. Dallin does not play up these once-known but long-forgotten pearls of American journalism, perhaps because of his foreign origin, but the casual way he presents them does not lessen their devastating effect.

The finest analysis in the book is "the eastward path of social revolution." Here Dallin identifies Communism as the movement, not of the proletariat, but of the semi-intellectuals, who are found in greatest number ever further to the east as one society after another awakens and gives birth to a crude, half-educated class that knows everything and doubts nothing and so is imbued with revolutionary fanaticism: hence the progression from France to Germany to Russia to China and the backward countries. The only fault in his analysis is that it ignores the fact that more than enough of these semi-intellectuals linger on in Western society, where they may not be able to dictate their country's course, but certainly can make it wobble.

Occasionally a contradiction appears in these essays. Dallin found hope in the new middle class in Russia in 1957; three years later he doubted that it could change the course of the hard men at the helm. Unfortunately, he does not develop this line of thought, the essay ending rather abruptly, as does also the essay on Stalin's failure in Austria. Dallin is also inconsistent in respect to Austria's importance to Soviet Russia. But aside from these points, his logic is unchallengeable. His death in 1962 removes from the scene a major source of clear thinking in respect to the world beyond the curtain.

University of Texas

OLIVER H. RADKEY

Near East

DIE ALTORIENTALISCHEN REICHE. Part 1, VOM PALÄOLITHIKUM BIS ZUR MITTE DES 2. JAHRTAUSENDS. Edited by *Elena Cassin et al.* [Fischer Weltgeschichte, Number 2.] ([Frankfurt am Main:] Fischer Bucherei. 1965. Pp. 398.)

Writing an authoritative and unified history of the ancient Near East is virtually impossible for a single scholar for there are few, if any, who can simultaneously control at firsthand the source material written in Egyptian, Sumerian, Akkadian, or any of the other pertinent languages, and likewise be thoroughly versed in the archaeological background of the area. A history of the ancient Near East should be the product of multiple authorship.

This volume is the joint work of an Egyptologist, a Sumerologist, and two Assyriologists, each of whom is a recognized authority within his own discipline.

Their combined efforts have produced for the general public an excellent, authoritative, and informative history of the development of the major civilizations of the ancient Orient, that of Pharaonic Egypt and of Mesopotamia-northern Syria. The five chapters covering Mesopotamia take the reader from the birth of civilization down through the fall of the Old Babylonian Dynasty and the beginnings of Kassite domination. The six chapters covering Egypt start with a survey of the late Paleolithic period and end with the expulsion of the last Hyksos rulers of the Delta by the resurgent Theban Seventeenth Dynasty. As the following examples will show, the history of the ancient Near East is, and must be, constantly being revised and rewritten in the light of current archaeological discoveries and scholarly research: Kenyon's excavations at Jericho and Mellaart's at Çatal Hüyük have forced us to re-examine the beginnings of urbanization; the Mari Letters have caused a re-examination of the achievements of Hammurabi as an empire builder, while the Ur-Nammu and Lipit Ishtar law codes have eliminated the claim of his being the world's first lawgiver. The authors of this work have incorporated in their chapters the results of the recent discoveries and current research within their individual disciplines, and the resultant narrative is comparable, on the popular level, to the contribution that the revised edition of the first two volumes of *The Cambridge Ancient History* has made on the scholarly level. One can only look forward with pleasure to an English edition of this book.

Queens College

ALAN R. SCHULMAN

A SHORT HISTORY OF LEBANON. By *Philip K. Hitti*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 248. \$7.50.)

THIS most recent book by Professor Hitti is based on his *Lebanon in History* (1957). It is admirably suited for the general reader, and it should be useful to teachers and students involved with the Middle East.

Lebanon and its varied peoples are the focal centerpiece of a historic tapestry into which Hitti has woven multitudinous historical strands of the peoples and nations whose destinies and cultures became intertwined with those of Lebanon. Hitti's book is replete with facts without, however, overburdening the reader. The narrative flows clearly and interestingly along a stream of history covering nearly five thousand years, from the Late Stone Age to the present nuclear age.

It is interesting that Hitti emphasizes the continuity of Semitic culture and language in Lebanon despite the vicissitudes of repeated invasions and conquests, from those of the Hittites and ancient Egyptians down to the period of the French mandate. The author's Lebanese origin and Christian Arab culture give zest to his writing. Enthusiasm for his cherished heritage arouses his readers' interest in the interplay of the varied alien cultures that molded the distinctive personality of the Lebanese.

Mesopotamian and later Persian domination are briefly dealt with as is that of Alexander and his successors who introduced significant elements of Hellenism. The Christianization of Lebanon during Roman rule and more especially the three hundred years of Christian Byzantine rule from Constantine I to the Arab conquest are rather scantily covered.

Two-thirds of the volume is devoted to the history of Lebanon from the time

of Muslim-Arab conquests to the present. Hitti gives major emphasis to the Arab-Islamic impact upon the Lebanese and writes of Lebanon "in the Orbit of Islam and Arabism" quite appropriately because it still remains a significant part of the Arab lands of Western Asia, though during the crusades it became a battlefield between Christians and Muslims.

The author deals in considerable detail with the Ottoman Empire describing the growth, under the Turks, of Lebanese feudalism and the rising power of the Druses and the Maronites. Thus he prepares his readers for an understanding of the various factors that dominate the political and social life of the republic of Lebanon. Finally Hitti writes of the intellectual awakening in the nineteenth century, which led to the rapid modernization of Lebanon during the last few decades.

An error of considerable political and historic significance on page 217 should be called to the reader's attention: Hitti states that "On October 7 a French naval division landed in Beirut, giving France priority claim . . . before the end of the month Faisal had entered Damascus with British troops." These statements are both misleading and contrary to fact. When the Turks evacuated Beirut on September 30, 1918, they turned the government over to local Lebanese officials who promptly notified the Damascus provisional government which sent Shukri Pasha with one hundred Arab troops to Beirut. They arrived on October 4 and raised the Hejaz flag on government buildings. A French naval force reached Beirut harbor October 6. The French naval commander, Vice-Admiral Varney, on landing saw the Hejaz flag flying and promptly re-embarked. Accompanied by Major de Sambouy, Captain William Yale, American military observer attached to General Allenby's staff, arrived in Beirut October 7. French warships were in the harbor; there were no British or French troops in the city; the Hejaz flag was flying. On October 8 the British Seventh Infantry Division marched into the city. Damascus was occupied by British and Arab forces on October 1, 1918, and Allenby and Faisal arrived there for a conference on October 3.

Boston University

WILLIAM YALE

THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITIES IN SYRIA UNDER OTTOMAN DOMINION. By *Avedis K. Sanjian*. [Harvard Middle Eastern Studies, Number 10.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 390. \$8.95.)

THE Armenian community of the Holy Land has always claimed a major share in the custody of Holy Places in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. It has clung tenaciously and successfully to that "right" throughout its long and checkered history since the beginning of the fourth century, as revealed in this volume devoted to Armenian studies. This part of Professor Sanjian's first book, even with its long, tedious, and bewildering details, is a well-connected narrative of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem from the early seventh century to the end of World War I. In the study of this unique institution the author has gone through a large body of published Armenian works (no archival material, however), but his uncritical use of these works is a serious weakness of his book. The story of Armenians in Cilicia and Syria to the beginning of the sixteenth century is just adequate in Chapter 1. Chapter 11 on the Armenian communities "under Ottoman Dominion"

(why not domination?) is rather perfunctory and too sketchy, as is the treatment of the economic status of the Armenian communities in "Syria" (the area extending from the Taurus Mountains to the Sinai Peninsula). Instead of depending too much on Siurmeian's gossipy and ponderous tomes, a more careful study of the works of Runciman, Stevenson (*Crusaders in the East*), and even Deansley's *Early Medieval Europe* would have enabled the author to present a fuller and better narrative. The chapter on the Armenian Catholicate of Cilicia is long enough, but it is badly cluttered with unnecessary and at times disgusting details. In a number of places the author refers to the "so-called Armenian Question," but his last brief chapter is entitled "The Armenian Question and Its Impact on the Syrian Communities." The "Selected Bibliography" includes nearly all Armenian books and periodical articles on the subject, as well as important works in English, French, and German. Fifty-seven pages of closely printed notes testify to Sanjian's prodigious industry, but his index is barely adequate.

This welcome addition to the slowly but steadily increasing number of books in English on Armenian studies is thus of uneven merit. It is regrettable that its author does not seem to have had much competent guidance in his pioneering work; otherwise, the result would have been considerably improved. Even so, one can be satisfied without being content, and all serious students of Middle East studies can thank Sanjian for his book.

Library of Congress

A. O. SARKISSIAN

NESHRI'S HISTORY OF THE OTTOMANS: THE SOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEXT. By V. L. Ménage. [School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London Oriental Series, Volume XVI.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964. Pp. xvi, 86. \$5.60.)

THIS is an exhaustive account of the early sixteenth-century Ottoman historian Neshri, whose work is one of our principal sources for the study of Ottoman origins and the Ottoman rise to power in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It demonstrates all too clearly the difficulties met by historians in the use of Ottoman sources. Various previous attempts to identify the author with known historical figures are shown to be in error. Thus we have no information about Neshri except that he was a member of the *ulama*, who apparently served in the Ottoman army under Mohammed the Conqueror, wrote his history in the early years of Bayezid II (1481-1512), and died sometime during the reign of Selim I (1512-1520). His known work apparently was only the introduction to a much larger world history that has not survived. Much of his information apparently was derived from the earlier chronicle of Ashikpashazade, but through an unknown intermediary, and has survived in several distinct editions. While the earliest known manuscript of the work, published by Franz Taeschner as *Gihannüma: Die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlana Mehmed Nescri* (1951), is accepted as an accurate rendition compiled during the author's lifetime, in 1493, the text subsequently published by the Turkish scholars Faik Resit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen as *Mehmed Neşri: Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ, Neşri Tarihi* (1949-57) is shown to be most likely the product of an entirely different author.

This monograph contains a useful concordance of the various manuscripts,

along with extremely detailed analyses of various critical points. It actually is a collection of historical notes written by Ménage in the process of compiling a thesis on the various fifteenth-century Ottoman chronicles. It is to be hoped that this latter study, as well as translations of the texts themselves, may be published for the use of a wider group of historians than those who will benefit from the present work.

Harvard University

STANFORD J. SHAW

THE TURKISH POLITICAL ELITE. By *Frederick W. Frey*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1965. Pp. xxvi, 483. \$12.50.)

FOLLOWING the defeat, dissolution, and partition of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War, the Turkish people, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, established a republic, became a nation, and underwent one of the basic revolutions of our time. Many books have been written on this grand theme about the drama of the Turkish transformation. Without doubt the achievement in the Turkish revolution, whatever its limitations or shortcomings, may be traced both to the character of the Turkish people and to the political elite that emerged under Atatürk and his successors after 1938.

Professor Frey has now made the first fundamental and authoritative analysis of this elite, its historical and geographical origins, its social backgrounds, its intellectual and educational development, and its occupational distribution. To achieve an understanding and characterization of the political elite of the Turkish Republic, the author has investigated the backgrounds of all 2,210 members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly from 1920 through 1957, with extended coverage down to 1960, when the first republic came to an end with the *coup d'état* of May 1960. The treatment is both quantitative and qualitative, and it leads to interesting evaluations and estimates of the character of the elite, although one may have questions, at times, concerning some correlations between various skills and selection, election, and re-election to office. The author rightly makes education the "hallmark of the elite," and he well notes that "throughout most of Turkey's modern history, the fundamental social distinction has been that based on education." His data indicate that more than 60 per cent of the 2,210 Turkish deputies had some university training. In professional distribution, the high incidence of lawyers (18 per cent) is noteworthy, if not, perhaps, unique. Chapter x provides an interesting analysis of "elites within an elite: cabinets and ministries," that is, of those who emerged at the highest levels of the Turkish government.

Although Frey's work is confined to Turkey, it should prove interesting to any social or political scientist dealing with the problem of the emergence of elites in any society. Chapter II, for example, is a disquisition on methodology in research in this field. It should also interest anyone professionally or otherwise involved in the contemporary Middle Eastern scene or with the problems of developing societies. As Professors Lasswell and Lerner note in their foreword, Atatürk "was the nearest approximation to a genius of modernization that any 'emerging na-

tion' " had seen in his period, and emerging or developing nations may well have much to learn from the Turkish experience.

While hardly designed for popular consumption, the work is well written, is replete with statistical data, contains a very useful appendix, and closes with a selected bibliography, based both on Turkish and other sources. This is a distinct contribution to literature on Turkey and should certainly be on the reference shelf of all students of modern Turkey.

American University

HARRY N. HOWARD

Africa

A HISTORY OF POSTWAR AFRICA. By *John Hatch*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. 432. Cloth \$8.50, paper \$2.95.)

JOHN Hatch is to be commended for his effort in presenting a history of Africa since 1945, for this book is one of the first attempts to describe and analyze the recent history of the whole African continent. The difficulties of writing a contemporary history are enormous, however, and the incomplete availability of contemporary sources must perforce always limit an author to a narrower view of his subject than would be the case after the passage of a suitable length of time.

Although the reader will find a useful amount of reasonably accurate information in a convenient package as Hatch deals in turn with Western, Southern, Central, Eastern, and Northern Africa and stresses contrasting as well as common elements in the recent political history of each region, many readers will object to the author's perspective, his basic assumptions, and his interpretation of the facts. To begin with, his claim that the African political revolution has been the most dramatic international phenomenon since World War II may be disputed by Sinologists, by Asian specialists, and by students of the Soviet Union, although it is understandable in view of his onetime position as Commonwealth officer of the British Labour party and his career as a journalist in Africa. Africanists will be dissatisfied with the author's consistently non-African perspective on African history. The background to the independence struggle is to be found in Africa in the colonial period over three decades before the achievement of African independence, and it has been convincingly described by Thomas Hodgkin. To analyze African history by playing down internal African developments and by referring largely to Europe and a European chronology is to do an injustice to the history of Africa. Certainly the great conflagration of World War II is a major dividing line in European, American, and Japanese history, but I quarrel with the implication that it was a major turning point for Africa.

Historians in general may challenge the validity of the author's approach to this political history because of the heavy emphasis on constitutional development and the not always appropriate use of a vocabulary borrowed from Western socialism. Here one cannot avoid the conclusion that the author has been greatly influenced by an older school of British historiography. The attempt to explain much of African history through economic determinism is unsuccessful because in this political history there is a dearth of information about social and economic history. Nor is much attention paid to the fascinating and not unimportant role of

syncretist religion and modern African thought, particularly the highly relevant concepts of *negritude*, the African personality, African socialism, and *Ujamaa*.

The book has no notes, and the bibliography does not do justice to the scope of the subject.

University of Illinois, Chicago

ROBERT L. HESS

REALM OF THE EVENING STAR: A HISTORY OF MOROCCO AND THE LANDS OF THE MOORS. By *Eleanor Hoffmann*. (Philadelphia: Chilton Books. 1965. Pp. xxv, 307. \$6.95.)

THIS rather overblown title announces, according to its author, the first attempt in English at a complete history of Morocco. Chronologically, it is that. Meakin's *The Moorish Empire* ended in 1899, and there remains over a half century of change in Morocco from the black-bearded Moulay Hassan to his grandson, King Hassan II, clean-shaven in his silk suits. Eleanor Hoffmann fills in the outlines of these years; the several thousand years of the western Maghrib's history that precede them are chronicled in the main from extensive English and French sources. The result, while lacking in scholarly analysis, is a pageant of Moorish history in its pomp, vivid color, religious mysticism, and brutality.

The work's chief merit is its continuity. Northwest Africa's history, as shown here, unfolds from legendary beginnings, through Roman and Vandal visitations, to the arrival of Islam. Thereafter Morocco's growth is set within the limits of traditional Muslim dynasties until the French conquest introduces a Western element and cleaves the Moroccan soul between traditional and progressive worlds. A second merit lies in the author's inclusion of Muslim Spain and the Negro empires of West Africa. Cordova, Mali, and the Songhai Empire share with Morocco a common historical experience of gold, slaves, ivory, and Islam.

Despite these assets, the book is marred by errors and, more serious, a lack of purpose. Apparently unable to decide between history and travel approaches to Morocco, the author fuses both, with disastrous results. It reads at times like a guidebook, again like women's club speeches. The sections on post-1962 developments are shallow. Errors, both factual and interpretive, sprinkle its pages. The accounts of France's conquest of Algeria, and of Abd-el-Krim's career impact on Maghrib nationalism, reveal a basic misunderstanding of North African political history. Wholesale borrowings from various authorities without attribution further weaken the documentation. The account of the Istiqlal movement has been told better elsewhere. As a whole the book suffers from careless editing, and several specialists will be disappointed to see their names misspelled.

The work contributes something to guidebook literature on Morocco but almost nothing to our understanding of the forces shaping Moroccan history.

American University

WILLIAM SPENCER

ENGLAND, EUROPE & THE UPPER NILE, 1882-1899: A STUDY IN THE PARTITION OF AFRICA. By *G. N. Sanderson*. [Edinburgh University Publications: History, Philosophy and Economics, Number 18.] (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1965. Pp. xiv, 456. \$14.50.)

THE main features of the international struggle for control of the Nile Basin have been recognized for some time, but some of them at least were not very clearly discernible. During the past generation, however, the opening of various Foreign Office and colonial archives, as well as private papers, has enabled students to work out many details and correct the perspective on certain interrelationships. Thus Zaghi contributed significantly through use of the Italian records, Hornik exploited the Austrian archives, A. J. P. Taylor, Shibeika, and Robinson and Gallagher adduced valuable evidence from British sources, and Renouvin reviewed the background of the Fashoda crisis in the light of French documents. Of the utmost interest and importance, furthermore, have been the articles on King Leopold II and the activities of his Congo government published by Jean Stengers, together with the quite fascinating studies of Mahdist and Ethiopian policy contributed by Professor Sanderson. In the preparation of this synthesis Sanderson has reviewed the large and scattered literature and has drawn on the British Foreign Office and colonial records, the intelligence reports from Egypt and the Sudan, the French archives of various kinds, and the Mahdist records at Khartoum.

The author recognizes in his preface that some points in the story are still obscure and will perhaps always remain so since crucial records have been destroyed. For the rest, Sanderson's book is certainly a definitive treatment of one of the greatest and most dangerous, as it was certainly one of the most involved, episodes in the history of European imperialism.

The struggle for the Upper Nile became acute after the Mahdist conquest of the Sudan and the gradual realization that the very life of Egypt might be endangered by hostile interference with the waters of the White Nile. Within a few years not only Britain, but also Italy, Germany, the Congo, and France all forced their way into the picture. No effort can be made in a review to touch even the high points of this complicated and ever-shifting scene, or even to specify the contributions made by the author. The book is a large one which goes into considerable detail regarding prolonged and often futile negotiations. In the course of his narrative Sanderson shows how adventurous officers in the field often ran away with the show, and how at home the Foreign and Colonial Offices were at times working in opposite directions. He brings to life the leading actors: Salisbury with his attention focused on European alignments and his skepticism about the "wretched stuff" which was much of Africa, yet in the end as avaricious as anyone; Rosebery the imperialist, constantly frustrated by Harcourt; Crispi, with his fantastic dreams of an Anglo-Italian Sudan; the rapidly changing French ministers, notably Hanotaux and Delcassé, both at times the victims of permanent officials; and, above all, Leopold, who alone was able to pursue his ambitious and devious policies in secret and who made himself a past master at exploiting the conflicting interests of others. Mention, too, should be made of that crafty non-European who was the first to score a resounding victory over European imperialism—Menelik, whom the author has shown to have led the French astray while actively promoting an alliance with the Khalifa directed against all European encroachment.

One can have nothing but praise for this excellent example of historical research and analysis. It fills in many of the data required for complete understand-

ing and at the same time sums up our knowledge of the problem. The publishers, too, are to be congratulated on having produced an attractive volume, with footnote references where they belong, with detailed descriptive bibliography, with good map material, and with a first-rate analytical index.

Harvard University

WILLIAM L. LANGER

THE MODERN HISTORY OF SOMALILAND: FROM NATION TO STATE. By *I. M. Lewis*. [The Praeger Asia-Africa Series.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. xi, 234. \$6.50.)

WHILE Africanists often joke about the anthropologist who has studied a people for so long and so intensely that they become "his people," such a sense of identity seems to have been useful to Dr. I. M. Lewis, an anthropologist turned historian, in his new general, nonspecialist history of Somaliland from the late nineteenth century to 1964. His description of the mode of life and social institutions of the Somali is succinct, but describes the historical importance of clan patrilineal kinship well. Lewis has further applied his deep knowledge of Somali society and language by using considerable unpublished traditional source materials in his valuable fourth chapter on the period 1900-1920 about the holy war of Sayyid Muhammed 'Abdille Hassan, the so-called "Mad Mullah." Sayyid Muhammed's struggle against a serious Christian threat to the faith of his people "not only failed in its purpose of driving the 'infidels' into the sea, but actually led to a further extension and entrenchment of alien rule." Nonetheless, the fight "left in the Somali national consciousness an ideal of patriotism which could never be effaced and which was to inspire later generations."

Chapter II, "Somaliland before Partition," is based largely on oral documents and is a useful summary of the limited information now available. Lewis' description of the origins and development of Italian Somaliland through 1940 (Chapter V) is a particularly good survey, containing a description of the important agricultural developments of the first quarter of the twentieth century. Chapters VI-VIII, which trace Somali history from 1940 to 1964, present useful materials, but, along with Chapter III on the period of the imperial partition of Somaliland, 1860-1897, are marred by the author's sympathetic involvement with the affairs of "his people" and by his apparent distaste for Ethiopia, the particular *bête noir* of modern Somalia.

The author is nonetheless correct in his estimation that modern Somalia's problem of national unity has its origins in the unfortunate imperialism of the horn of Africa during the late nineteenth century; that, because the present-day Somali Republic follows a policy of irredentism, it "has been manoeuvred into a position of unenviable isolation in the Pan-African world." The rest of Africa has made it quite clear that nation building must take place within the state boundaries laid down by the imperialists. This decision is really quite a shame because the Somalis do have the type of "culturally defined identity" that most observers consider essential for the existence of a viable nation-state, and to which most other African states aspire. The Somalis are thus an anomaly in modern Africa, a nation in search of a country, instead of a country in search of a nation.

Howard University

HAROLD G. MARCUS

THE NIGER JOURNAL OF RICHARD AND JOHN LANDER. Edited and abridged with an introduction by *Robin Hallett*. [Travellers and Explorers.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. ix, 317. \$8.00.)

THE journal records the efforts of the Lander brothers during a seventeen-month period in 1830–1832 to trace the Niger from a point in the present Northern Region of Nigeria to the sea. At the time of their modest expedition no one in Europe knew for certain where the river reached the sea or even whether it reached the sea at all. Earlier expeditions, including one led by Clapperton on which Richard Lander was present, had failed to unravel the mystery of the river's outlet. The Landers' discovery that the Niger emptied into the sea through the so-called Oil Rivers delta had far-reaching consequences, for it spurred the British commercial and antislaving activities in the river basin that contributed to the establishment of colonial rule later in the century.

Richard and John Lander came from humble origins in rural Cornwall. They were not scholars. Nor did they possess scientific training or great linguistic ability. But they recorded what they saw in the Niger area in a quite accurate and unbiased fashion. John Lander, who wrote most of the journal, did not share his older brother's benevolent attitudes toward West Africa and its peoples. But in general his sentiments and his Gothic romantic prose style seem more amusing than offensive. Throughout the journal the Landers describe vividly the peoples they encountered: kings and peasants, traders and holy men, the marauding Fulani, the effete Yoruba of Old Oyo, the energetic Nupe, the vigorous Ibo canoeemen of Aboh, and the men of Brass. Their picturesque account gives much information on the relationships of the various states of the Niger area and on the trade routes of the interior during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Robin Hallett has done a fine job of reducing the original journal of 175,000 words to a fluid narrative of 100,000 words. He has wisely kept the number of notes in the text to a minimum. To supplement them, he has provided an excellent background introduction, as well as an epilogue telling of Richard's third and fatal visit to Nigeria in 1831.

The volume contains a fine foldout map which allows the reader to trace every step in the voyage from Badagry on the Gulf of Guinea inland to Bussa and from Bussa down the Niger to the sea. It has good place name and general indexes. On the whole, this first contribution in the new "Travellers and Explorers" series has set very high standards for subsequent volumes.

Ohio University

DAVID E. GARDINIER

CAMEROON: UNITED NATIONS CHALLENGE TO FRENCH POLICY. By *David E. Gardinier*. [Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, London.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 142. \$1.70.)

It is difficult to be certain of the purposes that this book was expected to serve. The Institute of Race Relations, its publisher, obviously hoped that Professor Gardinier's discourse would further advance the cause of racial understanding. According to a foreword by the director of the institute, it was specifically in-

tended to answer questions about the effectiveness of international bodies as guardians of colonially ruled subjects. The title also promises an examination of the role of the United Nations in the formulation of Cameroun political development. Unfortunately, however, although the UN does now and again enter the chapters of this book, it appears merely to provide a passive setting for the machinations of local Cameroun politicians. Essentially the author's focus is almost exclusively upon their struggle against the inflexibilities of French rule. (Except in a concluding chapter, this book does not narrate events in the former British Cameroons.) Race relations, as commonly understood, nowhere occupy the stage. Analysis of any kind is almost entirely absent.

What Gardinier does provide is a useful, brief introductory survey of events in former French Cameroun from the beginning of World War II to independence in 1960. Of its various sections, those on the rise of nationalism, the revolt of 1955-1960, the organization of politics and political parties, modern economic development, and the achievement of independence are least satisfactory. A final, comparatively fact-filled chapter sets out the political events of the period between 1960 and late 1962. In it the author discusses the mechanics of the unification of the two Cameroon trust territories and charts the rapid consolidation of power therein by the northern-based *Parti de Union Camerounaise* under President Ahmadu Ahidjo. Throughout there is excessive repetition of detail, and the latter half of the book is strangely pervaded by an air of *post hoc* apologia for and acceptance of the succession of events that brought about the present distribution of power within the Cameroun. Finally, there is no index.

But despite these and other criticisms, most of which probably stem from the form in which this book was cast, Gardinier's narrative will, in lieu of a more comprehensive account, continue to be of use to students of the modern Cameroun. It is in numerous respects more authoritative than the more recently published study of the same subject by Victor T. Le Vine (*The Cameroons from Mandate to Independence* [1964]).

Harvard University

ROBERT I. ROTBERG

Asia and the East

ANCIENT CHINA IN TRANSITION: AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY, 722-222 B. C. By *Cho-yun Hsu*. [Stanford Studies in the Civilizations of Eastern Asia.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 238. \$6.50.)

Dr. Hsu proposes to write a history of the Chinese societies in the Ch'un Ch'iu (722-464 B.C.) and Chan Kuo (463-222 B.C.) periods with special stress on social mobility. In a compact volume, he presents a lucid account and a vigorous analysis of ancient China in its most eventful period of transition.

That the Ch'un Ch'iu and Chan Kuo periods witnessed many basic changes is a thesis traceable at least to an essay by Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682) in his *Jih-chih lu*, Volume XIII. It has been developed by later scholars and is now found even in textbooks. Hsu's book is valuable, nevertheless, because it attempts to quantify the data on social mobility, to synthesize textual and archaeological evi-

dence for a general picture, and to use modern sociological concepts, especially those of Max Weber, for interpretation. Changes in social mobility are meaningfully discussed against political, economic, ideological, and social changes in general.

The book begins with a chapter on "Problems and Background" and ends with a "Conclusion." In between are five chapters on "Changes in Social Mobility," "Wars and Warriors," "The New State," "Economic Changes," and "Changes in Ideas." Two of these chapters are outstanding: the chapter on social mobility contains four tables on "social stratification in the Ch'un Ch'iu period," "the increasing importance of ministers," "the concentration of ministers in big families," and "persons of obscure origin in the Ch'un Ch'iu and Chan Kuo periods"; the chapter on economic changes reviews a considerable amount of newly excavated materials, notably iron implements, bronze coins, and walled cities.

Explaining changes in social structure, Hsu says: "a contractual relationship seems to have replaced the familial relationship during the Chan Kuo period." Here the term contractual should be understood to mean "relatively free contractual" because in a sense the feudal, familial relationship was also contractual, although the contract was expected to last for life and often to involve future generations. The study of social mobility perhaps can be refined further by differentiating large and small states, states in central China and those in outer areas. For instance, one scholar (*shih*) of a small state who migrated and became a minister in a large state may be considered higher up the ladder of success than another who stayed and became a minister in the small state. In this connection, it may be observed that several of the small central states in the Chan Kuo period tended to export talent to the large, powerful, outer states.

Altogether, Hsu's book is a remarkably well-balanced synthesis that should be recommended to Western students of ancient China.

Harvard University

LIEN-SHENG YANG

REFORMER IN MODERN CHINA: CHANG CHIEN, 1853-1929. By *Samuel C. Chu*. [Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 256. \$6.00.)

RECENT biographical studies in the field of modern China have in large part been concerned with transitional figures, the men who escorted China out of the nineteenth century, with the traditional heritage it sought to preserve, into the twentieth-century world of nationalism and industrialism. Chang Chien was unusual not so much for the versatility of his interests and efforts, which this study illuminates commendably, but rather because he was neither an official nor militarist. It was characteristic of Ch'ing China that large enterprise, major sources of wealth, and educational policies, as well as many educational institutions, were monopolies of government and its scholar-official servants. Most of the best-known reformers operated from exalted positions within the bureaucracy, bringing to bear upon their promotions the resources and prestige of their offices. Chang was exceptional in that his official career was brief and commenced only after he had successfully launched numerous daring economic and social enterprises.

Whereas the other famous reformers were primarily scholar-officials whose entrepreneurial ventures supported their regional administrations, Chang was a scholar-entrepreneur whose productive efforts were largely confined to his native Nantung district. More than merely an entrepreneur, he was a social reformer and a pioneer in land reclamation and in the reform of the age-old salt administration. He also grappled with the problem of taming the Huai River.

Professor Chu's approach is an objective appraisal of the major achievements and failures of Chang. Within his own locality and for a limited span of time Chang demonstrated the vision and resource that educated Chinese possessed both because of and in spite of their Confucian heritage. He was awakened by the West at the very moment that he became disillusioned with the traditional examination system. A confidant of political giants, he failed to understand the basic political issues of his time and thus missed his opportunity to make a fundamental impact upon his nation.

In tracing Chang's efforts and contributions in a wide range of public affairs, Chu furnishes us with a series of useful accounts of the workings and development of industry (especially cotton), education, national affairs, constitutional development, reclamation, and water conservation, but none of these constitute a major survey. Like Chang, the author has pursued a wide variety of interests that never quite add up to a completed picture. One might wish that both had looked for a radical note upon which to build a structure of major significance. One might wish that Chang's successes and failures had been analyzed more broadly against the patterns rather than merely against the events of their place and time. And yet, as one would not wish China to have been without its Chang Chien, one cannot dispense with this conscientious and authoritative study.

Washington University

STANLEY SPECTOR

INDIA. By *Stanley Wolpert*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. x, 178. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

Past months have witnessed the proliferation of small volumes designed to describe India's past and the current scene. Of all these books, it seems to me the volume by Stanley Wolpert is the best. With clichés held to an absolute minimum and with no desire to write down to some assumed audience of naïve readers, Wolpert has done a commendable job of conveying, in brief scope, the sweep of India's past, the era of British domination, and the period of independence until the death of Nehru. As an extra boon, the volume is well written and lively.

I have a few small criticisms, however. It seems to me, for instance, that his discussion of Hindu polity and society is rather slim. The discussion of Islam in India is a bit trite, a tired story told again in slightly worn phrases. His discussion of Gandhi has elements of brilliance and is on the whole quite good. However, I fear Dr. Wolpert has failed to distinguish between the strengths and the limitations of Gandhi's leadership. Gandhi played the role of a political leader with a curiously limited idea of what politics is about. If this is not seen clearly, one is landed in some awkward anomalies. The treatment of reform and renaissance in India under British rule is good, but fails somewhat to convey the variety of

ways in which Indian society was being modified. The facts are there and are well presented; the over-all impact of diverse British lines of policy is not given sufficient analytical attention. The development of a major anomaly—British interactions with the newly educated class—fails to come through in all of its significance. After page 135 it seems to me the book tends to become somewhat stale. One gets the feeling that the author had covered all that interested him at that point and finished the book in a relatively uninspired and mechanical fashion. For me it came as a letdown.

Nonetheless, it is a good survey, it has few errors of fact or of opinion, and it has a number of passages of genuinely important insight. The educated layman or the undergraduate in a survey course on India will surely benefit from a close reading of the book. Wolpert is to be commended for carrying it off so well.

Duke University

ROBERT I. CRANE

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Holden Furber*. [Heras Memorial Lectures, 1962. Issued under the auspices of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture.] (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1965. Pp. v, 76. \$4.00.)

ECONOMIC history is one of the neglected aspects of the long chronicle of India's past. Works on the economic history of ancient India are just beginning to appear in a significant number, and the case of the later periods of Indian history is not much different. Works of W. H. Moreland and R. C. Dutt, published decades ago, are still the standard authorities though recent studies have added much that is valuable for our understanding of the economic developments in India during the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.

Holden Furber has been a pioneer in the economic history of India during the "Company Era." The present volume is a happy indication of his continuing interest in Indian economic history of the neglected period.

This work is part of a much larger one under preparation. The period selected for the present study extends from the 1720's to the 1750's, and the author is mainly concerned with western India, viewed from the vantage point of the British establishment on Bombay Island. The first lecture discusses commercial happenings in Bombay and on the Malabar Coast in the 1720's; the second deals with the country trade of Bombay and Surat in the 1730's; and the last describes conditions in Bombay Presidency during the period of the War of Austrian Succession. The focus is essentially on country trade and the role of private interests in the development of the company's trade in western India. The study is based on British and Dutch sources and brings to light many little-known episodes of the turbulent times. The importance of the approach and treatment lies in the fact that it is perhaps the first attempt to analyze and evaluate the impact of private trade, both on the commercial fortunes of the company and on the economy of the Bombay area. Furber has uncovered much valuable information from hitherto untapped Dutch sources, which is a distinct contribution to Indian economic history. The style is anecdotal, bearing a deep impress of the spoken word addressed to a selected audience, and makes for very interesting reading.

One cannot obviously expect firm and extensive conclusions from a volume of this nature, but what is offered is enough to raise high expectations of the work to come. Furber rightly laments the absence of Indian sources for they would have revealed the impact of the economic revolution ushered into the life of western India by the company's trade and the private commercial operations of its servants. Some of this material, at least from 1700 onward, is, in part, available in the Marathi documents, and one wishes the author had had the opportunity to consult them. But what he has done and has projected to do is of great value and deserves the attention of students of Indian economic history.

Wake Forest College

B. G. GOKHALE

THE BENGALI REACTION TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES
1833-1857. By *Muhammad Mohar Ali*. (Chittagong: Mehrub Publications.
1965. Pp. xii, 243. Rs. 16.)

DESPITE poor printing and numerous typographical errors, this is a valuable study, effectively carried out. The subject of indigenous consequences of European rule has long been discussed in broad and impressionistic terms, and the nature of the complex responses by segments of native society has tended to be dealt with in a similar fashion. In recent years serious studies—of which this is one—have begun to appear, giving us an informed and detailed insight into important facets of the complex interaction produced by British rule in Indian society.

Because British rule was first firmly established in Bengal, and because the concentration of officials and nonofficial Europeans was greatest in Bengal in the early period, developments there are critical to our comprehension of such interactions. This study uses Bengali responses to Christian missionaries as its focus, with happy consequences. The missionaries were important in a variety of ways, and the complex Bengali reactions to their presence serve to show how different segments of native society perceived the implications of European impact. From this account it becomes clear that current oversimplifications of indigenous response must be radically revised. In addition to the varying responses of different segments of Bengal society, there was an added complication of groups that responded in one way to certain stimuli and in other ways to other stimuli. The curious case of shifts in stance by the so-called Young Bengal party illustrates this phenomenon quite well, and Mr. Ali's volume documents other numerous instances of this. In so doing, he has made particularly effective use of journals, newspapers, and tracts that were published by different groups in the period 1833-1857. His bibliography is most helpful, particularly because he has made a substantial effort to specify the location of many of the items crucial to his research. The volume, meanwhile, is well organized, effectively knit together, and lucid in presentation. The research clearly indicates several fruitful lines of serious inquiry that can be followed by other scholars to extend our comprehension of the variety of ways in which Indian society adjusted to the British presence. I am pleased to recommend the book highly.

Duke University

ROBERT I. CRANE

AFGHANISTAN: HIGHWAY OF CONQUEST. By *Arnold Fletcher*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 325. \$7.50.)

THIS pleasant introduction to Afghanistan does not provide much information that is not readily available elsewhere, but it does have the distinction of portraying with warmth and sympathy Afghan views. As such, it is a welcome antidote to the almost inevitably British-centered accounts of Afghanistan that have so far appeared in English. Thus, what is referred to as the "Third Afghan War" quite unabashedly becomes "The War of Independence." The author, who broadly sketches the toils and troubles of the area from 1747 to the present (with three short, introductory chapters on the land, the people, and "ancient Afghanistan"), has tried to be objective; where his sympathies for the Afghans have triumphed, however, he makes his primary contribution, for the value of this book lies in its presentation of the Afghan view.

Arnold Fletcher has spent several years in Afghanistan. At one time he was deputy director of Habibia College in Kabul, the first public school ever established in the country. The book is both well written and entertaining; Fletcher has a penchant for the striking adjective and utilizes some fine anecdotes to good purpose.

Unfortunately, several errors have crept into the text, and some hoary chestnuts have been kept warm. Selim the Grim, for example, was not the first Ottoman sultan to claim the title of caliph. It seems a little odd to refer to southern Dir and Swat as "part of the Indus plain." The wrong date—1904—is given for the Anglo-Japanese treaty, and the remark that this bolstered British defenses in India because of a clause "in which Japan agreed to cooperate in the protection of India's northwest frontier" is in error. There was no such clause, and Japan explicitly exempted India from the terms of the agreement. One is somewhat surprised, too, to read in a book on Afghanistan that German planners "had entered the world of Islam with customary thoroughness." In fact, World War I found the Germans so unprepared for activities in this part of the world that the expedition of Wassmuss and Niedermayer had to be staffed with personnel taken from the German African colonies, with no knowledge of either the Persian or Afghan languages.

This is, nevertheless, a refreshing account of a little-known country, presented by one who has learned to admire and respect its peoples. There are some fine photographs, but it is unfortunate that the book contains no maps.

Tufts University

FREELAND ABBOTT

DER GEDANKE DER BLOCKFREIHEIT IN SÜDOSTASIEN: GESCHICHTE UND DEUTUNG DER SOLIDARITÄTSKONFERENZEN DER COLOMBO-STAAATEN, 1954-1961. By *Raden Soerjono Wirjodiatmodjo*. [Darstellungen zur auswärtigen Politik, Number 3.] (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag GmbH. 1964. Pp. vi, 178. DM 25.)

THIS study attempts to explain historically and analytically the "foreign policy style" of the five Asian countries that sponsored the first Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in April 1955. The author acknowledges that for documentation he relied primarily on fifteen volumes of *Facts and Documents* published

in his native language by the Indonesian Department of Foreign Affairs. Consequently not all five "Colombo states"—Ceylon, Burma, India, Indonesia, and Pakistan—briefly united in a common diplomatic effort in the spring of 1954, are given equal attention in this volume, which presents primarily an Indonesian point of view. Significantly, the author chose to study only those "solidarity conferences" that had a truly neutralist intention, and he ignored completely the Communist front "Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conferences."

Dr. Soerjono introduces the historical part of his study with some reflections on the nature of nationalism in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia, as it affects the attitudes of contemporary nationalist leaders in the area. He ascribes particular importance to the memories of past moments of national glory and to the bitterness left behind by the period of Western colonial dominance.

That part of his study devoted to "the development of the non-aligned policy of the Colombo states through the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conferences" is not really a historical essay, but a lucid and moderate Indonesian commentary on some key events of the last two decades.

In the second, analytic part of this study Soerjono attempts what he describes as a "phenomenologic-spectographic" approach. Under this forbidding label he discusses several of the factors determining the policy of nonalignment: the bipolarity of the international system in the relevant years, the ideological conflict between Communism and the West, the existence of nuclear weapons. More interesting, as an Indonesian commentary, are the pages concerning the respective attitudes of the Soviet Union and of the United States toward the Colombo states.

After attempting to characterize three types of neutralism—militant, conservative, and moderate—Soerjono makes the useful point that nonalignment, as a voluntary political attitude, should not be confused with neutralization by international agreement as in the case of Laos in 1962 and of Austria in 1955. The author predicts, in conclusion, that increasing numbers of newly independent states will favor a policy of nonalignment even though it may have been abandoned by some of its initial advocates.

Santa Monica, California

GUY J. PAUKER

AN INTRODUCTION TO INDONESIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY. Edited by *Soedjatmoko et al.* [Prepared under the auspices of the Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1965. Pp. xxviii, 427. \$9.75.)

LIKE most scholarly works in English on Indonesia, this book is highly welcome, the more so since it is a true pioneering effort. Like most symposia, it is almost by definition uneven, and like most reviewers of symposia, I am unable to do justice to it.

This collective enterprise is first of all pretty unique in its breadth of coverage. It is not restricted to an examination of available source materials in archaeology and epigraphy, local and regional records, nor written documentary treasures available in indigenous, Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch, and British writings. There are even two chapters on Japanese and Soviet "sources," though especially the

latter, not unexpectedly, lists secondary rather than primary materials. The catholicity in coverage is mirrored by its international character, and, one might add, its "intergenerational" one. The twenty-two contributors include, most happily, Indonesian as well as Western scholars, and they range from such famous historians as C. R. Boxer and the late Jan Romein, through such well-known stalwarts of Indonesian history as the late Hoesein Djajadiningrat, C. C. Berg, and H. J. de Graaf, to younger authors, some already reasonably well known, others, notably Indonesians, just finding their way to a broader international audience: R. Soekmono, Buchari, and also the chief of the Indonesian National Archives, Mohammad Ali, and Soedjatmoko himself, who in addition to editing the volume with Ali and G. J. Resink and George McT. Kahin, has contributed a penetrating and highly sophisticated concluding chapter. The scope of this work is wide; indeed, its value is considerably enhanced by some first-rate excursions into what to most traditionalists might well seem problematical borderlands, such as Professor Koentjaraningrat's "Use of Anthropological Methods in Indonesian Historiography" and W. F. Wertheim's brilliantly suggestive "The Sociological Approach."

Preoccupations with the nature, scope, and purpose of Indonesian history, especially with regard to the problem of "centricity," that is, the "Indonesian-centric" versus the "Europocentric" approach, are paramount in the minds of the younger Indonesian historians, suddenly called upon to come to grips with, write, and teach it in an era of revolutionary nationalism. It would surely be premature to expect positive accomplishments, but their critical tackling of these bewildering problems, indeed their very bewilderment, deserves careful reading.

We may also be grateful for the chapters discussing some of the "frontiers" of Indonesian historiography proper. One of the most welcome chapters, especially to those unable to read Dutch, is Resink's "The Significance of the History of International Law in Indonesia." Resink, a lone pioneer, has tried to show how late the Indies really became "Netherlands." And then there is the "Berg thesis," that brilliant challenge to the historicity and reliability of Javanese traditional sources. The wide impact of Berg on the minds of others, especially again the younger Indonesian historians, is brought home to us quite unmistakably; that it is by no means limited to them is perhaps well known already, as witness the recent writings of D. G. E. Hall and of B. H. M. Vlekke. By the same token, however, this volume brings us two additional, and highly authoritative, rejoinders to Berg, one by the well-known French scholar L. Ch. Damais, the other by Professor P. J. Zoetmulder of Gadjah Mada University.

A third point is worth pondering. For, though this sizable volume contains a rich sampling of the continuing dialogue concerning Javanese historiography, it is of course by no means limited to it. Let me therefore draw more than passing attention to Dr. J. Noorduyn's highly important contribution, "Origins of South Celebes Historical Writing." "Turning from Java to South Celebes," he says, "one feels as though one were coming into quite another climate. . . . In general, South Celebes historical writing is characterized by a certain terseness and matter-of-factness." None of the contributors have asked why such deep-seated differences in the approach to their own history among various Indonesian peoples exist, or rather, how they may be accounted for. In any case, our genuine in-

debtedness for this important, well-produced (and, in several instances, also well-translated) symposium may by now have proved justified.

Yale University

HARRY J. BENDA

THE CHINESE IN PHILIPPINE LIFE, 1850-1898. By *Edgar Wickberg*. [Yale Southeast Asia Studies, Number 1.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 280. \$7.50.)

ONLY recently have the few scholars concerned with the Philippines turned their attention to the nineteenth century, despite its being evident that the most fecund roots of its present are to be found in that century—a century almost utterly distinct in every way from its predecessors.

Dr. Wickberg, therefore, examines the profound changes that occurred in Chinese communities of the Philippines during the last four decades of the nineteenth century and, in so doing, enormously illuminates what has been until now a misty, perplexing, and vaguely unsettling era in the history of the peoples of the Philippines. This is a major contribution to the miniscule list of worth-while books on this fascinating land, far more so than the relatively short compass its indicated coverage might suggest, for so well has Wickberg controlled the rather scattered sources (both in range and location) available to the scholar, and seen so clearly their relevance to greater questions, that his work is undeniably useful and essential as a guide toward understanding past, present, and future in Philippine life. Its great value is derived not only from the fact that it is unique in subject and quality of treatment, not only because it is almost unique in searching behind and beneath the surface of the Philippine scene, but because of its informed and critical evaluation of hitherto undefined aspects of cultural change in the Philippines.

This study is arranged into four parts: a summary of Chinese history in the periods before 1850, which, in a relatively brief forty pages, supplies the most meaningful and balanced statement on the subject ever written; an analysis of "economic expansion," which discusses the many economic changes within Chinese communities; a dissection of "social contraction," that is, the interaction between Chinese and the larger society as well as the tightening of intragroup identification; and two chapters in which are discussed attempts by Philippine Chinese to seek protection and aid from China and their general condition at the opening of the twentieth century. A glossary of Chinese names and terms and a list of Chinese *gobernadorcillos* (1875-1898) are appended. An informed bibliography is considerably enhanced by the inclusion of Chinese and Japanese sources. The index is detailed and excellent.

This book is highly recommended as an essential addition to the library of all who are interested in or concerned with the Philippines.

Western Michigan University

CHARLES O. HOUSTON

A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC. By *Milton Walter Meyer*. ([Honolulu:] University of Hawaii Press. 1965. Pp. 321. \$7.00.)

WHY should recent history be made to appear remote? In writing a diplomatic history of the Philippine Republic, 1945-1961, Professor Meyer has accomplished a scrupulous, discriminating, and orderly digest of pertinent published materials, chiefly government publications and newspaper collections available at Berkeley, Stanford, and the Hoover Institution. His work has a studied air in the best sense—balanced and meticulous—but the air of the study is a trifle stale. Meyer's analysis is of a kind traditional in Western diplomatic history, but applied here, even to the most Western of new nations, it misses much of the underlying racial, cultural, and economic tension in Philippine-American relations, a tension common to argument and even agreement between most "Southern" and "Northern" powers. Perhaps if the author had interviewed some of the men involved in making, executing, and criticizing Philippine policy—Romulo, Elizalde, Garcia, Serrano, the late Claro Recto, not to mention their Asian and American counterparts—more of their sense of doubt and struggle would have entered and enlivened his writing.

Within his chosen manner, however, Meyer has done something extremely useful. He summarizes his subject chronologically by administrations, and by issues in each. The chief issues concern relations with the United States; anyone who has lost his bearings on military bases, parity rights, or the omnibus claims may regain them here. Meyer is also informative on the Philippine posture in the UN (frequent departure from Afro-Asian consensus), policy toward the two Chinas (opposed to Communist recognition and to Nationalist immigration), and Vietnam (in 1955 the lonely Recto declared Ngo's regime illegitimate).

The book focuses on the Presidents: Roxas establishing basic economic and military ties with the United States; Quirino exploring unsuccessfully the possibilities of regional association; Magsaysay briefly "hypnotizing" the United States with his "magic." Garcia appears as an unsung success, redefining commitments to the United States, thawing relations with Japan, broadening relations with neutrals.

Meyer observes the essential ambiguity in Philippine diplomacy, derived from its Western supraculture and political orientation, its Asian infraculture and geographic location. One wishes that he had explored that ambiguity further: that, having dismissed the Filipino claim to be "the bridge between East and West," he had further analyzed the thoughts of the Filipino diplomat swimming between the two.

State University of New York, Buffalo

THEODORE FRIEND

AUSTRALIA. By *Russel Ward*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. viii, 152. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

AUSTRALIA has been fortunate in the excellence of its short histories. Russel Ward can now join the select ranks of Scott, Hancock, Crawford, Shaw, Pike, and Clark as an outstanding practitioner of this craft. His is one of the best. His sardonic humor is delightful, and his inclusion of cultural history, particularly painting and writing, adds an important dimension. He concerns himself with the nature of the Australian character, its "self-image," and, by combining literature, history, and the social sciences, its system of values. Robin Winks, general editor of the

series, points out that Ward writes as a self-conscious and committed Australian. Therefore Ward frankly states that he pays "particular and even disproportionate attention to those aspects of it [history] which tended to make the migrants diverge from accepted British attitudes and develop others of their own." Thus we learn about its folkways and social attitudes. His opening chapter, "Australia Today," is the best condensed description available and is particularly brilliant in its comparison with the United States. Ward is perceptive in going beyond the obvious and in pointing up both the subtle differences and the subtle similarities. The main phases of Australian history—the penal foundations, the "Squatting Rush," the gold rush, the period of urbanization and rise of trade-unionism, and so on into the twentieth century—serve as a framework for a closer scrutiny of its economic, psychological, and social development. Essentially, Ward's book has explained why Australia developed as it did considering the facts that it began as England's great penal colony, faced no warlike or numerous native race, fought no civil war, had no powerful neighbors, had a remarkably homogeneous population, had no considerable foreign immigration (until World War II), and inhabited a dry and lonely land.

Ward writes with a direct and lively style, using primary sources with great skill. Such a notable book deserves some striking illustrations and maps, not just one inadequate and miserable map!

University of California, Irvine

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

QUEST FOR AUTHORITY IN EASTERN AUSTRALIA, 1835-1851. By *Michael Roe*. ([Parkville:] Melbourne University Press in association with the Australian National University; distrib. by Cambridge University Press, New York. 1965. Pp. 258. \$10.00.)

AFTER the manner of some social scientists, the author of this complex work has a thesis: he believes that the development of a viable society in Eastern Australia, in the period 1835-1851, was achieved in the face of the penal character of the communities, largely by virtue of the ascendancy of a "new faith" of moral enlightenment. This creed was linked to practical social ethics and to liberal Christianity as well as to radical thought from the British Isles. In evidence the author submits a detailed and interacting account of the activities of certain inhabitants of Australia and their ideas, studied with particular reference to five subjects: political power, land policy, convictism, religion, and education. Much reminded me of the writing and objectives of Raymond Williams: the sober tone and the painstaking use of obscure lives as refined instruments of social analysis. This is, in fact, intellectual cabinetmaking.

The methodology introduces the entrenched forces of conservatism, explores those factors that broke up the conservative state-centered system, and then turns to appraisals of turbulent, new forces, such as immigrant radicalism, liberal (and anti-British) elements in Roman Catholicism, Protestant reformism, and such diverse forces as transcendentalism, temperance, the lust for learning, literature, library facilities, phrenology, and mesmerism, as factors capable of maturing Australians and liberating them from the oppression of their colonial past. The author believes that Australians, especially the working class, rose to these challenges and evolved what has come to be a national idea. The interpretation is

backed by a formidable and, indeed, admirable bibliography and documentation, a study from which scholars can benefit.

It is not, however, always possible to accept the author's conclusions. Social classes existed in mid-century Australia, egalitarian as it was beginning to become. But in this work the reader will find it hard to know, at times, whether examples refer to middle or working classes, to free, emancipist, or bond, to native or new chum, or old seasoned immigrant. The rank and file of upcountry laborers and station hands were surely not much affected by transcendentalism, a philosophical view remote from their day-to-day "Bush Religion." The influence of bishops and of religion, Anglican or otherwise, is somewhat oversold. The antitransportation movement was in fact very little concerned with the welfare of convicts or old lags and aimed rather at blocking the further influx of convicts and getting rid of those already crippling Tasmania and menacing the public (and, in the later phases, the gold fields) elsewhere. Although this book seems to dismiss it, the Australian legend still holds up. Allowing for the importation of significant ideas from Britain and the world, the egalitarian creed of Australia was nevertheless strongly influenced by "stringy bark and green hide," and the experience of living a life inconceivable in Europe.

This work lacks the elegance and order we find in Manning Clark, but it is a product of imagination and industry, a departure from conventional thinking. Michael Roe has opened some new doors and offers students of mid-nineteenth-century Australia an alternative view.

Colgate University

CHARLES S. BLACKTON

Americas

WARRIORS OF THE COLORADO: THE YUMAS OF THE QUECHUAN NATION AND THEIR NEIGHBORS. By *Jack D. Forbes*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 76.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xx, 378. \$5.95.)

THE Yumas of the Quechuan Nation and their neighbors have at last found a chronicler of their long and significant relationship with Spanish and Anglo-Saxon intruders into their homeland on the lower Colorado River. Mr. Forbes has produced a scholarly, a meticulously researched, and an unfortunately somewhat pedantic history of these Indians about whom the general reader has known little. Western and Hispanic American history buffs will surely want a copy of this book on their shelves. Other less dedicated students of history may find that the narrative becomes a little tedious along the way.

The Yuma, or Quechuan as they should be officially called, were an adventurous and daring people, excellent warriors who had little regard for materialistic things but with a high respect for individual liberty. Spanish forays among them stirred up nearby tribes from time to time so that the reader gets a composite picture that also includes important facets of the historical development of the Kamias, Cocopas, Halchidhomias, Mohaves, Maricopas, Pimas, and Papagos. More successfully than all their neighbors the Quechuans were able to resist military and cultural conquest by the white invaders from the south and east.

After two introductory chapters describing the culture and anthropology of the Quechuan, the author begins the long history of the Yumas and the Spanish conquistadors, from Alarcón in 1540 down through the Mexican period, to the 1840's and the coming of the Anglo-Saxon gold seekers. The story of American penetration covers only about fifteen years as the author leaves the Quechuan still resolutely ensconced along their great river when his narrative ends in the 1850's.

This book fills a gap in the history of the western Indian tribes, and Forbes and the University of Oklahoma Press are to be congratulated on a fine addition to "The Civilization of the American Indian Series."

Domestic Peace Corps

BRIGHAM D. MADSEN

THE FUR TRADER AND THE INDIAN. By *Lewis O. Saum*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 324. \$7.50.)

A MORE meaningful title—"the traders' conception of the Indian"—could be taken from the author's introduction. Extensive historical literature has grown up about the trader and the Indian and has come within the author's purview. Geographically, this extends from ocean to ocean and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic; chronologically, from about 1600 to about 1850, but chiefly 1800-1850. Until now this literature has lacked a considered, comprehensive report on what the trader thought, and wrote, about the Indian as an Indian. The author's report, which is his contribution to this literature, derives from his obviously careful examination of secondary studies, manuscripts in many collections, and, especially, numerous published accounts written by traders from the vantage point of personal contact with the Indian. In one chapter he examines the traders' opinions of the contemporary literary concept of "the noble savage"; his conclusion is that most of his sources took little or no stock in this concept. In another chapter he inquires into the validity of the notion that "the French had better relations with the Indians than the English" and reports that trade sources indicate that the Indian had little if any preference for a European because of his nationality, although a preference based on other elements might exist. After surveying writings about the Indian-giver concept the author asserts that "there had always to be an interested motive behind Indian generosity." Other concepts concerning the Indian that are explored by Saum include physical characteristics, lack of principles, love of liquor, capacity for education, oratory, and dignified bearing. On all of these except the last two the trader gave the Indian an undesirable rating. The author carefully points out that traders' accounts do not always reflect unanimity of thought concerning Indian society, but he believes that there is sufficient agreement to warrant the conclusions that he presents.

After examining the same sources another student might, of course, arrive at somewhat different conclusions, but I found those of the author tenable. He has handled a difficult organizational problem satisfactorily and written in a readable manner. Finally, his study points up the desirability of similar studies based on the accounts of army officers and other government agents assigned to the Indian country.

National Archives

W. NEIL FRANKLIN

THE RISE OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION IN AMERICA. Volume I, THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE; Volume II, THE REVOLUTION AND THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY ERA. By *Anton-Hermann Chroust*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xxiii, 334; v, 318. \$15.00 the set.)

THE author seeks to recount the history of American lawyers from their earliest colonial beginnings through the rise of Jacksonian democracy, or roughly to the year 1840. The first volume is devoted to the colonial period, and the second, beginning with the impact of the American Revolution upon the legal profession, takes the story to the transformation of the profession as a consequence of equalitarian frontier democracy. The author warns in his foreword that his study "makes little pretense to original scholarship," and this is reflected in the book since it does not introduce new information or provide fresh insights. On the contrary, the story follows well-established and conventional lines. It is clear, nevertheless, that Professor Chroust has read widely on the subject, and his book is heavily annotated with both primary and secondary sources, though presumably the former are for the most part derived from the latter.

The basic theme of this book is that for a variety of reasons the lawyer in America got off to a very bad start. As it develops, the history of the legal profession is one of a gradual rise in competence and general acceptance, with such occasional setbacks as the American Revolution and Jacksonian democracy. That is, unfortunately, as far as the author takes us. Whether the remainder of the history is similarly one of alternating periods of advance and regression one can only guess.

Lawyers were very unpopular in colonial America for a variety of reasons. The law itself was highly imperfect, at best a bad transplant from a distant and highly developed culture to a rude and primitive environment. There was, furthermore, a great shortage of trained lawyers in the colonies. Thus Chroust makes the familiar point that it is difficult to have lawyers without law, and law without properly educated judges and advocates. Most of the early judges were laymen, and most early litigation made small demands upon the intellect. In the absence of proper standards for training and admission, all too often the law fell into the hands of "pettifoggers, sharpers and spellbinders" who richly deserved the public odium that was their lot.

Gradually, however, conditions improved, and by the time the Revolution began most colonies had developed a substantial body of native lawyers. As they increased in number, influence, and professional competence, they also became more and more important in the political life of the country. The author argues that between 1765 and 1840 lawyers enjoyed a sort of golden age, at least so far as the exercise of public leadership was concerned. This apparently occurred in spite of the setback of the Revolution, for the Revolution drove out many of the best lawyers, who had been loyalists, brought English common law into a state of disrepute, and generated a postwar depression that cast the lawyer in the highly unpopular role of oppressor of the debtor classes.

Finally, the profession suffered from the effects of frontier democracy, which the author equates with Jacksonian democracy. This is, of course, a most dubious

equation, and the author might at least have demonstrated that he had read the most recent books on this interesting subject. Standards for admission into the profession were lowered in this period, and previous steps toward the creation of professional associations of lawyers were nullified. The administration of law gradually fell into the hands of untrained and ignorant people who relied upon their wits and tongues.

This study touches upon many interesting topics, but, unfortunately, it is weighed down with seemingly endless lists of lawyers, with needlessly long quotations from statutes and other documents, and with repetition of the same basic points by recounting facts in minute detail in one locality after another. After all, a meticulous summary of the facts for each of the thirteen colonies does not yield thirteen different stories. Historical facts are not of equal importance, and more generalization supported by concrete factual material judiciously selected would have resulted in a much more digestible book.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID FELLMAN

ESSAYS IN SOUTHERN BIOGRAPHY. [East Carolina College Publications in History, Volume II.] (Greenville, N. C.: Department of History, the College. 1965. Pp. vii, 166. \$2.50.)

THIS cooperative enterprise by members of the East Carolina College history faculty continues the high standards of scholarship set in the first volume of this series. The eight biographical studies included in this attractive paperback concern southerners whose diverse careers collectively spanned much of the two and a half centuries after 1700. Each essay makes a contribution either by way of detail or fuller explanation to the existing historical literature on the South.

The subject of the first essay, written by Herbert R. Paschal, is Charles Griffin, an obscure schoolmaster active in North Carolina and Virginia between 1705 and 1718. Interesting as the sketchy details of Griffin's career are, the significance of Paschal's study is found primarily in its commentary on social and educational conditions on the southern frontier in the early eighteenth century. The next two essays, devoted to a South Carolina opponent (Richard Yeadon) of Calhoun's theory of nullification and to a controversial governor of Virginia (William Smith) during the Mexican War, offer some insight into the process by which the South became alienated from the Union. They are followed by an unusual collection of seven letters and poems by a semiliterate Confederate soldier who saw only horror and futility in the struggle climaxing that alienation. Certainly one of the most significant contributions in this volume is Joseph F. Steelman's perceptive treatment of Daniel Reeves Goodloe, an abolitionist and native southerner who returned to the South in 1865 to assist in establishing an "effective Republican party." Rejecting both the presidential and congressional plans of Reconstruction as inconsistent with this purpose, Goodloe was stripped of political office and forced into the ranks of those disillusioned by events in the postwar South. The last three essays, all of which grew out of doctoral dissertations, deal with important figures of the New South: Lala Steelman's study of Senator Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia as a "champion of Philippine independence" appraises the motives that prompted his anti-imperialist crusade; Howard

B. Clay's sketch of Daniel A. Tompkins probes the mind and methods of an aggressive entrepreneur of New South variety; and Henry Ferrell's analysis of Virginia politics, 1917-1923, discloses the fortuitous circumstances surrounding the rise to political power of Harry F. Byrd.

Although these essays display some of the disparities common to collections of this kind, the volume as a whole succeeds admirably in fulfilling its stated purpose of providing "fresh and original work."

University of Georgia

WILLARD B. GATEWOOD

THE THEATER IN COLONIAL AMERICA. By *Hugh F. Rankin*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 239. \$6.00.)

THE enormous current interest in the performing arts, entailing government subsidies and lavish foundation support, brings into sharp contrast the early days of the theater in this country when ragtag actors and even less elevated actresses wandered from town to town performing where they could. The acting profession was held in low repute, its traditional status. Even in Shakespeare's lifetime, actors were classed with rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars in ordinances designed to restrict the activities of these unwanted characters. In colonial America, their status was only a little better as one soon discovers in reading Hugh F. Rankin's excellent book. In New England and Pennsylvania, for religious or social reasons, actors were at first discouraged. The New England Puritans looked upon the theater as the Devil's schoolhouse, and learned parsons cited examples of theatrical iniquity from the Church fathers and Roman history. The Quakers of Philadelphia also regarded theaters as wasteful of God's precious time and conducive to worldly vanity. Only in New York and the southern colonies did the actors receive anything approaching a cordial welcome, and even there their lot was not always easy.

The Theater in Colonial America provides an orderly and succinct account of the beginnings of the drama in this country with the first theater at Williamsburg, Virginia, 1716; the other early American theaters and the Murray-Kean Company of Charleston, Philadelphia, New York, Williamsburg, and Annapolis, 1723-1752; the Hallam Company in Williamsburg, 1752-1753; the appearances of the Hallam Company in New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Jamaica, 1753-1754; the Douglass Company's first American tour, 1758-1761; tours to Rhode Island, New York, Virginia, and Charleston, 1761-1766; players in New York and Philadelphia, 1766-1767; the New American Company in Williamsburg and Annapolis, 1768-1769; performances in Williamsburg, Fredericksburg, Norfolk, and Annapolis, 1770-1772; and the last tour of the American Company, 1772-1774. These were the principal dramatic companies playing before colonial Americans, but, in addition, sundry miscellaneous entertainers including jugglers, ropedancers, and sleight of hand artists were frequently seen. The author also provides a fascinating chapter on "Indians, Royalty, and Fireworks."

The acting was often crude, actors were sometimes far gone in drink, and their interpolations in comic scenes occasionally were offenses against good taste. One irate woman in 1768 wrote a vigorous protest against words inserted by the clowns in a performance of *Hamlet* at Annapolis; she reminded the actors of

Shakespeare's own injunction: "I am afraid the Gentleman who amused himself with playing Hamlet forgot to tell the Clowns *to speak no more than was set down for them*; or if he did tell them, it was no more than a Whisper."

This volume provides useful information on the social customs of the day and reveals the eagerness with which people in the less puritanical areas sought entertainment. Almost any sort of "show" (pantomime, dance, puppets, and so forth) could attract an audience if the authorities would look the other way; in 1734 a German revealed "the Wonders of the World by Dexterity of Hand," and displays of other "wonders" were not infrequent.

The repertory of the professional actors provides an index to the taste of the day. Shakespeare, first recorded in the theater in America with a New York performance of *Romeo and Juliet* on March 23, 1730, was a favorite of eighteenth-century players in America. The plays of George Farquhar and John Gay's *The Beggars' Opera* were also popular.

Rankin provides many amusing and interesting side lights on theatrical history in the colonial period. We can applaud the judgment, for instance, of the children of an actress named Ann Henry Hogg, who changed their name to Biddle and for two generations did well in the theater as Biddles. Perhaps an actor named John Tremain also showed good judgment by advertising that he was leaving the Murray-Kean Company, having "declined the stage to follow his business as a Cabinet Maker."

The author of this volume has sifted through many rambling works of actor memoirs, travel narratives, and colonial records to glean the information that he presents in a useful and readable form. He has written a book both entertaining and valuable as social history.

Folger Shakespeare Library

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

PROFESSIONAL LIVES IN AMERICA: STRUCTURE AND ASPIRATION, 1750-1850. By *Daniel H. Calhoun*. [Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 231. \$5.95.)

Professional Lives in America describes the reactions of physicians, lawyers, and clergymen to the fundamental democratization of American life. The substance of the book is a group of three ingenious studies in different locales of practitioners' complaints of social disintegration and professional decline.

What lends interest to these studies is the rich fabric of deeply personal reflections on the course of American history and the relations between men of knowledge and men of power in which they are embedded. The full dimensions of this fabric are never fully explicated so that my reconstruction inevitably risks distortion. Calhoun, it appears, is a partisan of "excellence," "quality," "subtlety and complex seriousness." He sees the professions as "largely responsible for any drive toward excellence in this country" and is "pessimistic" about the democratization that forced them to retreat to "mediocrity" and shaped a society characterized by "thinness and vulgarity." He fears that the "bureaucratic" institutions developed by professionals to solve the social dilemmas of 1850 isolated

them from the problems of community values and well-being with which they had been intimately concerned in 1750.

If this is a fair reconstruction, Calhoun hardly seems to have designed his work to demonstrate the validity of the empirical component of his ideas. His chapter on medicine, for example, explains why a New York physician, John Francis, attempted to quiet bitter personal competition among his colleagues in the 1840's. Calhoun fastens on Francis because he sees this attempt as a "respite from individualism," a move to conformity. Calhoun does not, however, try to prove that Francis or men like him achieved any success at all. Moreover, his discussion of the state of the medical arts suggests that the popular suspicion that physicians did not know what they were doing was both justified and liberating.

In a similar manner, Calhoun's treatment of the clergy fails to grapple with the major issues he himself poses. A long chapter traces the destruction of the tradition that the New England minister and his congregation were virtually wedded for life. In the wake of this destruction, Calhoun reports, some ministers urged a division of clerical discourse: some issues should only be discussed among professionals; others are appropriate for the populace. This advice, Calhoun sees with apprehension, as characteristic of the major trend of professional development. He does not demonstrate, however, that similar professional tactics had not been proposed prior to the destruction of the tradition or that the urgings had any impact after the destruction. Calhoun's description of changing ministerial careers is a model study of the loosening of social bonds in the nineteenth century. His judgments upon the impact of the loosening go beyond the point to which his research design can safely carry him.

Calhoun's moral assertions and tone are not subject to discussion in quite the same way as his empirical propositions. I do wonder, however, what it means to be "pessimistic" about the past. I wonder still more about the tendency to magnify the importance and the worth of men whose rhetoric and whose social style we happen to approve. Despite these doubts, I wish that more volumes were as deeply committed to the moral dilemmas of our time as this.

University of Pennsylvania

SEYMOUR J. MANDELBAUM

THE MOST EXTRAORDINARY ADVENTURES OF MAJOR ROBERT STOBO. By *Robert C. Alberts*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1965. Pp. x, 423. \$6.95.)

THE title of this book is a gift from David Hume, who hardly exaggerated in exclaiming that Major Robert Stobo "has surely had the most extraordinary adventures in the world." For most scholars, Stobo, a native of Scotland and a merchant of Petersburg, Virginia, has been no more than an attractive if shadowy figure, who, like Christopher Gist and Jacob Van Braam, briefly crossed paths with George Washington during the opening rounds of the French and Indian War. Owing to the indefatigable labors of Robert C. Alberts, a Pittsburgh advertising executive with a graceful pen and an eye for the dramatic, Stobo rightfully emerges as a man of significance.

As a result of Washington's capitulation at Fort Necessity in 1754, Stobo became a French hostage at Fort Duquesne, where he managed to draw an elab-

orate map of the enemy post and slip it into the hands of Virginia authorities. But after the Battle of the Monongahela, the French obtained the map from Braddock's abandoned papers and traced it to Stobo. If the disclosure brought Stobo to the verge of death for allegedly violating his responsibilities as a hostage, his effort had made him a hero in England as well as the colonies. In 1759, after two unsuccessful escapes from Quebec, Stobo, along with several other prisoners, earned his freedom the hard way—by traveling 350 miles through enemy country before reaching a British outpost. Stobo's adventures were not over: twice captured by French privateers, he subsequently reached England, received the praise of William Pitt, returned to Canada, and, as a captain on the regular establishment, gained the admiration of James Wolfe. In 1762, now a veteran of the Quebec and Montreal campaigns, Stobo participated in the conquest of the French sugar islands and the seizure of Havana. It is doubtful that a handful of junior officers in the British Army exceeded Stobo in ability or combat experience. But, lacking family connections and wealth, his advancement had come to a standstill. Frustrated and suffering from an old wound, the redoubtable Scot took his own life in 1770. It is worth noting that a number of other officers, finding the road to preferment closed, settled in America and contributed their military knowledge to Washington's revolutionary army.

There is little in this study that will alter the major interpretations of the final Anglo-French struggle for North America. But Alberts, a careful workman, corrects Douglas Freeman on several small points, and he has made good use of recent publications of the University of Laval Press and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission that other writers have overlooked.

Louisiana State University

DON HIGGINBOTHAM

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: PHILOSOPHER & MAN. By *Alfred Owen Aldridge*. (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1965. Pp. xii, 438. \$7.95.)

PROFESSOR Aldridge has written an excellent biography for the general reader. He has omitted such scholarly paraphernalia as footnotes and bibliography, but his book is based upon careful research in Franklin's writings. He has made skillful use of contributions that have been made to our knowledge of Franklin by specialists who have written about him as a scientist, diplomat, or politician. He has, moreover, given his readers some insight into his research by including a section of "Notes" in which there is a brief discussion of the principal sources and secondary works upon which each of his chapters is based.

The author has tried to present an account of the life of a man who had many talents, many virtues, and some shortcomings. He has not tried to outdo such specialists as I. Bernard Cohen in their own specialties. Cohen has written an entire book about Franklin's electrical experiments, whereas Aldridge has allotted a single chapter to the subject. Aldridge has accomplished what he has set out to do, however: to write an entertaining and instructive life of Franklin. He has described how Franklin lived, thought, and acted from day to day. He has shown that Franklin was not completely absorbed in science, politics, or diplomacy at any time. He worried about family matters, pursued young ladies and some who were far from young, and swam or took long walks to preserve his health at the same

time that he was engaged in his scientific experiments or in the most complicated and delicate diplomatic negotiations.

Aldridge should be complimented for avoiding the pitfalls into which so many biographers have tumbled. He has avoided the temptation to place Franklin upon a hero's pedestal and to make him appear superhuman. He has avoided a muckraking approach, although he has discovered sufficient evidence that Franklin had his share of backstairs love affairs. He has quoted friends and foes of Franklin, and he has shown that there were flaws in Franklin's character as well as many and impressive virtues. Franklin was brilliant and gifted, but he was a human being and not one of the gods.

I can recommend this book strongly to general readers. It is readable and interesting, bringing Franklin alive for the twentieth-century reader. It also reveals that Franklin did not receive full credit in his own time for some of his accomplishments because he put many important letters in newspapers without acknowledging that he was their author. Specialists have known for some time about Franklin's behind-the-scenes activities as a promoter and a propagandist, but the reading public does not read the monographs of specialists. It is to be hoped that the public will read this fine biography of Franklin.

Lehigh University

GEORGE W. KYTE

THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Volume VIII, APRIL 1, 1758, THROUGH DECEMBER 31, 1759. Edited by *Leonard W. Labaree et al.* [Sponsored by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. xxiv, 489. \$10.00.)

THIS volume continues the documentation of Benjamin Franklin's first mission to London. The dominating theme is, of course, the progress of Franklin's mission and his futile negotiations with the proprietors of Pennsylvania. The volume includes essential documents, propaganda pieces, and numerous pithy letters of information and comment to friends in Pennsylvania such as Isaac Norris, Israel Pemberton, and Joseph Galloway. To this should be added, as an important part of the campaign to discredit the proprietors, the sponsorship, by the Assembly and Franklin, of Indian charges that the proprietors had defrauded them of their lands and the petition for redress that Franklin presented to the crown in the name of Chief Teedyuscung.

Antiproprietorship, important as that was, was of secondary importance to the much broader and profound issue that was troubling the internal peace of the Empire: the rise of the power of the colonial assemblies, and their challenge, in the name of the responsibility of government to the body politic, to the authority of an essentially irresponsible prerogative, whether of proprietor or of crown. This was, indeed, the real issue involved in Provost William Smith's appeal to the Privy Council against the Assembly which had punished him for libel. Franklin commented on the fact that ministers and other leaders in England were disturbed by this phenomenon. A crisis in the structure of the Empire was gestating. For Franklin and his "country," Pennsylvania, the crisis took the form of a struggle against the feudal anachronism of the proprietorship that would culminate, presently, in a deliberate effort to destroy it altogether.

Such were the major concerns of Franklin in these moments of his life. But they fell far short of occupying all his time or interest. For Franklin the scientist carried on an active correspondence with his scientific colleagues and participated in the activities of the Royal Society, to which he had been elected on April 29, 1756. Franklin the genealogist studied the genealogical histories of his family and Deborah's and made charts of them. Franklin the pater familias wrote regularly to his "dear child," Deborah, and to his female protégées on both sides of the Atlantic. Franklin the publicist wrote some of his famous letters to the press and humorous commentaries on public opinion relative to the course of the Seven Years' War.

The editorial work in this volume is excellent. There is a running biography of Franklin in the scholarly contributions of the editors. Perhaps even more important, numerous case studies, or exercises, in the techniques of historical criticism, involving identification and attribution, commentaries upon style, accuracy, bias, and so on appear.

University of Washington

MAX SAVELLE

THE FRENCH IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY. Edited by *John Francis McDermott*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 247. \$6.75.)

PROFESSOR John Francis McDermott, long interested in the history of the French in the Mississippi Valley, is editor of this book, which contains fourteen essays originally presented at a conference observing the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of St. Louis.

McDermott contributes the first essay concerning myths and realities about the origin of the city. Anyone who has attempted to forage through the thicket of existing records relating to the early history of St. Louis can appreciate the multiplicity of legends about what took place in this frontier community. McDermott is a master of this material and has given us a clear account of the accomplishments of the founder of the city, Pierre Laclède. Other essays deal with such pertinent subjects as the houses of the old French families, an early poet (Pierre François Régner), French mountain men, fortifications, and explorers. Finally, there is a series of papers on manuscript collections concerning the history of the French in the Mississippi Valley. The book also includes many good illustrations from contemporary records, including maps, charts, and photographs.

All of the essays are carefully documented; collectively they provide a fascinating picture of an important phase of American development. For the active investigator one of the most valuable essays is written by James M. Babcock, chief of the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library. Certainly the manuscript materials in this one important collection are almost indispensable for the student of French expansion in the Mississippi Valley and the history of Indians and of military affairs throughout the early nineteenth century. Father Noël Baillargeon of the *Université Laval* has, in another essay, given us one of the best accounts of documentary materials in the archives of the *Séminaire de Québec* that has been printed in English.

Such essays about manuscript sources are an excellent complement to chapters on such topics as architecture, fortifications, and literature. The editor, his fel-

low contributors, and the University of Illinois Press are to be congratulated on the publication of a work that makes a unique contribution to the history of the Mississippi Valley. Researchers in this field will be especially grateful for the excellent index.

University of California, Santa Barbara

WILBUR R. JACOBS

THE LIFE OF THE MIND IN AMERICA: FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE CIVIL WAR. Books One through Three. By *Perry Miller*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1965. Pp. xi, 338. \$7.50.)

THE place to begin this book is at the end, where we are shown what the pattern of the whole work was in 1963, the year of the author's death. A "Prologue" was planned, but never written, on "The Sublime in America." Of the total of nine books intended, the present volume contains all that was finished, about one-fourth of the whole: Book I, "The Evangelical Basis"; Book II, "The Legal Mentality"; and, of Book III, one chapter, "Technological America," of seven chapters planned on "Technology and Science." Books IV-IX were to have dealt with education, economic thought and "association," philosophy, theology, and "Nature" and "The Self," which probably meant the literature of the period.

The sad tension between work done and work projected throws criticism back to about 1930, when Miller was beginning his studies. One remembers the famous review of Parrington, wherein Morris Cohen objected that a comprehensive work on American thought should not omit legal thought, nor scientific thought, nor thought on education. Though many partial payments have been made since 1930, Cohen's demand has never been quite met, and Miller's plan may well have been to some degree a response. At any rate we are fortunate that this, which, however truncated, is the most comprehensive of Miller's writings, contains his full treatment of the formative era of American legal thought and a sizable essay on scientific thinking.

That final chapter and Book I are the subdivisions of the volume that tell us most about the "sublime" of the unwritten prologue, and the key idea of the book. Believing that "the great issue of the nineteenth century," in all departments of thought in America, was "the never-ending issue of Heart versus Head," where "Head" equals the disciplined use of the intellect, Miller discovered in the sublime the thrust of the "Heart" beyond the point where the "Head" gave approbation. That is, what the age called "sublime"—things romantic, perfectionist, expansionist, millennial—Miller thought of as a measurement of excess. Within the evangelical movement, missions were the very thing; missionaries sought less to convert non-Christians than to create a perfect Christian community. This often meant a perfect Christian nation. Men whose thought was governed by science spoke no less enthusiastically, their tendency toward practicality (of course toward materialism) notwithstanding. "Steam," according to Miller, "appeared to contain a special affinity for America"; by 1835 "scientific rationalism had become so strong that many were convinced that the nation had now surpassed all Europe put together."

The middle subdivision of the book, on "The Legal Mentality," as well as being the longest is also the best. Here Miller's huge gift for mastering a spe-

cialized literature pays handsomely, quite as in his Puritan studies. Naturally he draws heavily from Kent and Story, but also from twenty or more lesser doctrinal writers, and from case law as well. He develops the role of the lawyers as the naysayers of democracy. Visualizing their successful competition, as a profession, with the ministers for social predominance, he discovers resistance to the sublime built into the center of their thinking. This contrasts with the resistance at the periphery, which was all that ministers and churches offered: the attitude of Episcopalians, Princeton Seminary Presbyterians, Mercersburg Reformed, Unitarians, and not many others. Yet with his considerable admiration for the logic and learning of the lawyers, Miller has irony for them, too; he sees through their pretensions and posturings.

In the book as a whole, Miller scores a splendid triumph. Yet, in this as in the books on the Puritans, I am sometimes unpersuaded that the shifts and differentials of doctrine Miller has expertly revealed were as substantial and important as he estimates. In the present volume his account of the withering of certain old Puritan doctrines, and of the innovations of Charles G. Finney, invites that kind of skepticism. I do not find that what Miller often designated as "the American mind," or indicated in some other phrasing, was truly as singular as he said. Neither do I think that laymen, especially Episcopalian laymen, were as unimportant in evangelical thought as the weight of his attention in other directions suggests. Altogether, though I believe that this book is not as closely reasoned as some of his earlier writings, I think that it is one of the two or three most interesting, and probably the most broadly suggestive, of all his books.

Johns Hopkins University

CHARLES A. BARKER

THE LAMP OF EXPERIENCE: WHIG HISTORY AND THE INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *H. Trevor Colbourn*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1965. Pp. viii, 247. \$7.50.)

RIGHTLY, in the John Adams tradition of examining the minds and hearts of the people, the intellectual side of the Revolution has been well served recently. Caroline Robbins on the "Commonwealthmen" and Bernard Bailyn's edition of pamphlets (to both of which Professor Colbourn's book will serve as an essential companion piece) come immediately to mind in the present context.

It is odd that historians, often such frantic affirmers of the contemporary value of their subject, should never have fully investigated the patriot leaders' historical learning which, with law, comprised their prime literary concern. Colbourn's learned, prudent book—he notes the uncut pages in Jefferson's books, avoids exaggerated claims—fills the gap, though he shows the history used, in contrast to his own, was riddled with error stemming from a mythical Saxon utopia and a misunderstanding of Normans, Magna Carta, and the English revolution.

Part One discusses Whig and Tory history, the extent and nature of eighteenth-century colonial exposure to historical writing, and the resulting American view of the ancient through Hanoverian periods. Apart from classical history, which came most into its own after 1776, it was English history in which the

colonists had greatest interest and which Colbourn mainly discusses (there is no mention of American history).

Part Two (much larger) considers "The Revolutionary Use of History" by certain patriots. John Adams and Jefferson each merit a chapter; Jonathan Mayhew, Isaac Skillman, James Otis, Samuel Adams, and Josiah Quincy, Jr., share one, as do John Dickinson, James Wilson, and Franklin; two Daniel Dulany, Charles Carroll, Richard Bland, Patrick Henry, George Mason, and Washington adorn a southern chapter. A short conclusion is followed by two useful appendixes: a historiographical account of the "Saxon Myth" since the Revolution, and, serving as a partial bibliography, lists of history books from selected contemporary libraries and booksellers' catalogues.

There may be some argument about the individuals selected in Part Two, there is some repetitiousness (perhaps more analysis was needed here or in the conclusion), occasionally the author rather wanders from his object of showing a man's use of history, but there is no doubt of the conclusion that the Revolution is inexplicable without an understanding of the Whig (with assists from such Tories as Bolingbroke and even Hume, who greatly irritated Jefferson) historical perspective of its leaders—a perspective, admittedly, given a peculiarly American twist. Colbourn makes little attempt to gauge how deeply this thinking reached down through society; nor is the loyalist historical view discussed. But these tasks lie beyond the scope of his book, as does his interesting call for investigation of the historical understanding of the English ruling class.

The specialist will probably find little totally new here in broad outline, but nowhere else will he find suitable coverage of this crucial material where individuals such as Tacitus, Trenchard, Rapin, Obadiah Hulme, Mrs. Macaulay, and Burgh assume the importance they deserve in American history.

Brown University

WALLACE BROWN

TOWARD LEXINGTON: THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN THE COMING OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *John Shy*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 463. \$8.50.)

IN the continuing scholarly search for the specific causes of the American Revolution, this book examines the relationship between armed force and political control in British North America before the outbreak of large-scale hostilities. On the whole it is successful, although much of the contents has esoteric characteristics that will appeal more to academic than lay minds. Here in sometimes tedious detail, Professor Shy examines the shifting British military policy, the colonial response to the army from England that was stationed among mainly unappreciative Americans, and then goes into a revealing analysis of the army itself. In the last phase the author is at his best, writing more easily and furnishing intriguing details of human relationships, particularly among the officer corps. One conclusion is that colonization was a military operation. Yet unlike England, where military service was selective and class-ridden, liability to service in the colonies was nearly universal, and the interesting militia organization was a reflection of early American political and social structure. The author rightly finds that the British Army stationed in America after the French and Indian War played an

important part in the outbreak of the Revolution. Anyone who doubts that soldiers in time of peace are looked upon in the worst sense should read this volume to be corrected. When they were not active, the British troops were thought to be not needed; their presence was, in fact, reckoned a disaster by the colonists who had to feed and house them. A vivid example of this situation, often referred to in this book, is the Boston Massacre which was not a massacre except in Paul Revere's engraving of the event and in the minds of those Bostonians who were fed up with the redcoats on their common. These and other troops were sent to America and the West Indies and then were virtually forgotten in time of peace. Shy shows that part of the reason for such neglect was governmental immaturity and financial inability. British officials seem to have had defense of the colonies primarily in mind and were disgusted because their American possessions did not defend themselves or even wish to provide funds for such. And so the mother country concluded that a large force was needed to occupy and defend the non-English rim of the expanded North American empire. The author takes perhaps too dim a view of Generals Amherst and Gage, although it must be admitted that they failed more often than they succeeded in America. The British regulars regarded American soldiers as peasants or their equivalent, and this misconception was to help defeat the King's forces when they later ignored loyalist aid during the Revolution.

This informative and helpful book is well summed up in the words of the author: "Largely without conscious intent, the British government had communicated with its colonial subjects through the medium of the army; read in the visible results of military policy, the message had betrayed ignorance, weakness, procrastination and malice. Most of the American response to this message was directed, not back to the army, but toward the sender through other channels."

New York University

NORTH CALLAHAN

NAVAL DOCUMENTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Volume I, AMERICAN THEATRE: DEC. 1, 1774-SEPT. 2, 1775; EUROPEAN THEATRE: DEC. 6, 1774-AUG. 9, 1775. *William Bell Clark*, Editor. With a foreword by *John F. Kennedy* and an introduction by *Ernest McNeill Eller*. (Washington, D. C.: [Department of the Navy.] 1964. Pp. xliii, 1451. \$9.00.)

IN the histories of some of our important wars the naval phases are neglected; so it has been with the American Revolution to a large extent. But this is beginning to be remedied, as this impressive volume testifies.

Ably edited by William Bell Clark, the bulky collection of original documents goes far to fill in some gaps heretofore existing in the knowledge of the early periods of the War of Independence. Even Washington himself, whose military efforts were based mainly on what he learned from books and trial and error, wrote Comte de Grasse in 1781 that "whatever efforts are made by the land armies, the Navy must have the casting vote in the present contest." Yet Admiral Eller points out that, for more than any other key period of United States history, the "seagoing" documents of this period have been widely scattered in both private and public collections throughout much of Europe as well as the United

States, and some of them have been lost. Thus an exhaustive search was made to seek out and secure accurate transcripts, photostats, or microfilms of surviving letters and other documents of the Revolution. The admirable results, logically set forth in this volume, tell a fascinating tale of the slow but successful development of our navy out of the coercive acts of a British king, his Prime Minister, and Parliament. This harassment was felt by the Americans long before the land skirmishes at Lexington and Concord. As the documents vividly show, the war at sea developed through necessity for the defense of the provinces and their ocean-borne trade. Arms, ammunition, and ships to use them had to be sought among neutral nations or anywhere they could be found, legally or otherwise, and this had to be done even before our Continental Congress met to lay down certain amateurish rules for defense and general welfare.

This volume begins on December 1, 1774, and presents in chronological order the occurrences through September 2, 1775, at home and through August 9, 1775, abroad. By this time Washington was taking steps to form a real navy. When the subject matter of this book relates entirely to maritime affairs, letters and documents appear in full. Extracts are used when a letter deals with other topics. Contemporary and letter book copies have been used and so indicated. British and colonial newspapers have also been tapped for commentary and information on the birth pangs of our navy.

All in all, this book adds immensely to our knowledge of the American Revolution.

New York University

NORTH CALLAHAN

WRITINGS OF FERMÍN FRANCISCO DE LASUÉN. In two volumes.

Translated and edited by *Finbar Kenneally, O.F.M.* (Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1965. Pp. xlix, 413; xiii, 464. \$25.00 the set.)

THE Academy of American Franciscan History presents the second collection of writings of the presidents of California's mission chain. Unlike the preceding four-volume work on Junípero Serra, in these two volumes the reader is not permitted to have on facing pages the Spanish and English of the documents. This doubtless will cut down on second-guessing and protect the present translator-editor from this type of criticism. It may also reflect the feeling that Father Lasuén was not as important as the great prototype Serra.

Over a period of several decades the AAFH has collected the writings of the significant leaders of missionary enterprise in California from 1769 to 1835. Its success is attested by the great number of documents found, in this case 480 letters by Lasuén, president from 1785 to 1802 and founder of nine California missions. The story of Spanish California is some day to be told with greater precision as contributions of this nature appear in the form of edited letters. Additionally there are special statistical and progress reports, tabulations, and a rather sketchy index. A brief, somewhat laudatory introduction seems appropriate as in subsequent pages the heroic proportions of the affable Basque priest unfold. Footnotes are clear and used with discretion, and a series of excellent photographs lends visual clarity.

From these volumes scholars will confirm the already established opinion that the path of the missionary on a remote frontier was beset with manifold difficulties. The conflict of the priests with the governor and soldiery is well known; to this are added problems of logistics, of personnel within the college supplying missionaries for California, and of internal difficulties of mission operation. Many letters are confidential, not meant for eyes other than those of the college *guardián* in Mexico City. As a result, minor problems, largely unknown to contemporaries, are thoroughly aired, revealing more fully the personality of the writer. Throughout all is the story of devotion and zeal of Lasuén, his dedication to his college and to the Indians whom he served, and his consistent but seldom unreasonable opposition to outside interference or criticism, whether secular or clerical.

This monumental work by Father Kenneally is an essential source collection for the history of Spanish California. It would be difficult to visualize a regional library or satisfactory book collection that failed to include it.

University of New Mexico

DONALD C. CUTTER

HOW THEY BECAME PRESIDENT: THIRTY-FIVE WAYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE. By *Rexford G. Tugwell*. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1964. Pp. 587. \$8.95.)

WITH the growing success of data retrieval projects and the increasing sophistication of quantification and other analytical techniques on one hand, and the mounting list of high-level modern monographs on the other, a relatively impressionistic book drawing upon none of the former and distressingly few of the latter seems a disappointing anachronism. Mr. Tugwell has set out to chronicle well over forty presidential election campaigns, seriatim, and then reach a series of general conclusions about their meaning. Both exercises, while readable and informative to the layman, offer the professional historian little he does not know or cannot put together for himself more constructively and with greater insight. Tugwell's sketches of the campaigns turn out all too often to be brief biographies of the individual candidates, their personal characteristics, and their rise to positions of political availability. When he seeks to deal with impersonal factors such as campaign issues, voting blocs, and sectional alignments, rigid patterns emerge which modern scholarship has adequately demonstrated did not exist. Nor is one moved by the profundity of an insight such as the conclusion that Grant's career proves that "almost anyone, it seems, can become President if the times are troubled," or that the early Presidents down to J. Q. Adams would have been unfamiliar with the trials of airplane and television campaigning.

Further, Tugwell, while at times entertaining as a practical cogitator, hardly offers professionally precise conclusions when it comes to summarizing his findings. With regard to a successful candidate, for example, we learn that the aspirant must be tractable, possess no fixed ideas of his own, and be wed to no significant cause that may later prove to be unpopular and thus upset the schemes of years. Too, there must be a "cause" involving an enemy of vast proportions and sinister aims that the voters can understand and join to fight with vigor and enthusiasm. Similarly the idea that the office seeks the man is not true, even though

the man must ever strike the pose of reluctance while remaining available and acquiescing in his manager's vigorous campaigning. Such remarks, while having a certain validity, are hardly original and seem too often trite and gratuitous.

Thus if the work has merit for the historian, it is in the personal insights and values that a senior statesman lends to a popular subject. Tugwell clearly has his favorites among the Presidents, as well as his disappointments, and his values and the reasons for them show through clearly. In this regard, his measuring of recent chief executives, under whom he served or whom he knew, with a yardstick of early New Deal values provides particularly interesting insights into both those values and their continuing relevance a quarter century later.

University of Minnesota

PAUL L. MURPHY

THE OLD REPUBLICANS: SOUTHERN CONSERVATISM IN THE AGE OF JEFFERSON. By *Norman K. Risjord*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1965. Pp. 340. \$7.95.)

THE author begins by picturing the old Republicans in traditional shades as a group who appeared in reaction to the surge of nationalism following the War of 1812, men who took to heart the compact theory of government and adhered to the "principles of 1798." Although this theme is later restated, it is so modified at other places as to raise the question of how well the author has thought through his interpretations. While stating as fact that the old Republicans appeared as a reaction to postwar nationalism, the author later writes that this "is generally assumed" but "only partially true." Examining the votes in Congress on the bank, the tariff, and internal improvements, he concludes that "there was almost no objection to any of the three in principle," that the vote on each issue was "determined almost completely by local interests." Yet, though finding little connection between old Republicanism and the issues of postwar nationalism, Risjord uses these issues as a test for old Republicanism, describing congressmen who "deviated from the Old Republican pattern only on the bank issue" or who "followed the Old Republican pattern on every issue but the tariff." Throughout the work shifting emphasis and conflicting interpretations leave no clear picture of the old Republicans or of southern conservatism.

In tracing the antecedents of the old Republicans, a central problem is John Randolph's revolt against Jefferson in 1806. Was it a product of conservative discontent or of Randolph's personal frustrations? In one place we are told that "Randolph's schism, to be sure, was largely a personal vendetta," that "Randolph hoped for open support from the conservative wing and was bitterly disappointed when he failed to get it." Elsewhere it is stated that "the Randolph schism was a rebellion on the part of a small group of conservatives against the gradual compromising of party doctrines," and it is observed that "the revolt of the Southern conservatives, when it came at last in 1805 and 1806, was only one of a number of fissures that destroyed the unity of the Republican party." At the same time, Risjord agrees with Henry Adams that Randolph's schism "all but destroyed the conservative wing of the party" and adds that following the unsuccessful attempt to promote Monroe for the presidency in 1808, not only was the Randolph group shattered but "even the larger body of conservatives remained a relatively small

group of men." Unexplained is an earlier statement that "the Republican conservatives" were "a majority of the party till 1811." In connection with Randolph's schism, Risjord also ignores contemporary evidence and uses the term "Quid" as synonymous with "Randolphite."

Most attention is focused on the proceedings of Congress, and the author rarely goes far beyond them even on key points. One principal conclusion is that "the major Southern reaction to the postwar nationalism appeared, not in Congress, but at home." Yet this major reaction is treated in six pages on Virginia and four pages on the remaining southern states.

In attempting a study of the old Republicans, southern conservatism in the Age of Jefferson, and the conservative wing of the Jeffersonian party, Risjord has proposed too much for a single volume and never successfully comes to terms with any of the three subjects. This is unfortunate since he has recognized the need for investigation on important problems.

University of Missouri

NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR.

THE WAR OF 1812. By *Harry L. Coles*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 298. \$5.95.)

"Have we gained nothing by the war?" asked Henry Clay in an oratorical post-mortem on the causes and consequences of America's decision to fight England in 1812. Surely the war experience had given Americans a stronger sense of common identity and raised their national pride. Surely, too, it had proved that this republican nation of freemen was capable of fighting in defense of rights and honor. "If we have not obtained in the opinion of some the full measure of retribution, our character and Constitution are placed on a solid basis, never to be shaken," concluded the Kentucky Republican leader.

Still, American forces had not penetrated into Canada much beyond the border and had won no decisive victories except on home ground. Nor had Britain been any more effective in bringing the adversary to terms, sustaining its most disastrous defeats at the very period when Wellington's Peninsular veterans had arrived to fight in the American theater. At sea the naval war had been spectacular but strategically inconclusive, and both sides had suffered losses from privateers and blockades. If the outcome was stalemate, it was a result that the inadequate administrative and supply systems of the two contenders probably made inevitable. America may have vindicated its rights but only in the sense of showing it would and could fight for them. Such is the central theme of Professor Coles's compact survey of the well-known conflict.

Coles's book comes at a time of renewed interest in the political, diplomatic, and ideological causes and consequences of the war. Based primarily on secondary accounts, this new volume in "The Chicago History of American Civilization" series is chiefly a synthesis of what others have written about the war. Discussing origins, Coles thinks that both maritime and western causes "combined to induce a majority of Republicans to vote for war," yet he also feels that more "than anything else" Republicans had become convinced that every alternative short of war had been tried and failed. Since national honor, character, and republicanism were invoked as "symbols that had wide appeal," apparently they were not crucial

to the final decision. Most of the book, however, deals with military and naval matters. It is primarily history that describes campaigns, battles, and naval engagements, not history that analyzes strategy, tactics, logistics, and the political and diplomatic circumstances of the conflict. Reflecting the work of previous military historians of the war, the book does not advance beyond existing literature to present new information or develop fresh points of view. The editor states that the War of 1812 has "peculiar significance for the twentieth-century student of American foreign policy and military strategy," but this approach is not found here.

Coles's study will serve those who want an introduction to current writing on the origins of the war and a convenient narrative of its principal military and naval operations. A useful critical essay on authorities concludes the volume.

American University

ROGER H. BROWN

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM HARRIS CRAWFORD. By *Philip Jackson Green*. ([Charlotte: University of North Carolina at Charlotte.] n.d. Pp. ix, 258. \$5.00.)

THE accidental burning of Crawford's papers in 1867 left the interpretation of his career largely to his political enemies—Calhoun, Clay, Jackson, and John Quincy Adams—and their able biographers. It is not surprising, then, that he has been remembered more for his presidential ambitions and political intrigues than for his service as state legislator, United States senator, minister to France, and Secretary of War and Treasury. This book undertakes the difficult job of correcting the imbalance, which J. E. D. Shipp's *Giant Days* (1909) and isolated articles have failed to do.

The author depicts Crawford as a devoted, talented, and effective, though not great, public servant. His politicking was no worse than that of his denigrators and better than most. In no instance did it detract from an honest performance of public responsibilities, including the administration of the Treasury. Finally, though Crawford worked against Calhoun's vice-presidency in 1828, he did not initiate the Calhoun-Jackson feud and participated in it only so far as his honor required.

For several reasons this case for Crawford is less conclusive and of less historical value than it might have been. First, the author fails to make adequate use of available sources. The scope, balance, and persuasiveness of his case would have been improved by the use of the Gallatin and J. W. Taylor MSS at the New-York Historical Society, the Adams Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the definitive edition of the Clay Papers, to name only some. Second, a lack of analysis, generalization, and summary makes the chapters fragmented and involuted; thus the full interpretive potential of the materials used in them goes unrealized. In this respect and in light of the paucity of Crawford papers, it is especially unfortunate that no use was made of abundant recent scholarship on the period. Needed background and interpretation could have been supplied by reference to Horsman and Perkins on the War of 1812 and prewar diplomacy, Hammond on the Second Bank of the United States, and White on the administrative history of the period. In fact, no title later than 1931 is used.

Nor is Crawford's political career put in the context of the major political de-

velopments of his age, and our understanding of him and the period suffers thereby. Almost no attention is given his relationship to state or sectional politics. His surprising nationalist position on banking and internal improvements was not used, as it could have been, to illuminate the transformation of the Jeffersonian Republicans. Nor was an analysis of Crawford's political power and technique attempted, though it might have enlarged our understanding of the changing nature of political practice in this critical transition period. Cunningham, Chambers, and Dangerfield would surely have called attention to these and other historiographical issues had they been consulted. Finally, the refutation of biased assessments of Crawford would have been more convincing had the author referred specifically to the guilty historians and made use of their considerable scholarship. The biographies of Bassett, Wiltse, and Bemis are conspicuously absent.

In short, this volume calls attention to the need for a more accurate appreciation of Crawford, begins the job, but does not conclude it.

Storrs, Connecticut

R. KENT NEWMYER

GENERAL HENRY ATKINSON: A WESTERN MILITARY CAREER.

By *Roger L. Nichols*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 243. \$5.95.)

GENERAL Henry Atkinson (1782-1842) has several solid, though unspectacular, achievements to his credit. During most of the period between the close of the War of 1812 and the onset of the Mexican War, he was in charge of the military activities beyond the Mississippi River. This duty included the command of two expeditions up the Missouri River, one in 1819, the other in 1825. It also included the selection of the site of Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, and the erection of the buildings for this infantry training school. On the other hand, Atkinson had no military experience in directing a campaign until the Black Hawk War, and he was responsible for some of the bungling connected with that tragedy of errors. His western expeditions, too, fell somewhat short of their objectives. All these matters, and many others, are fairly and critically evaluated by Professor Nichols in an effort to rescue Atkinson from obscurity.

Despite the thorough research into his career and the clear presentation of it, Atkinson remains a rather colorless figure. This is because of the lack of materials other than official army records; the author is to be commended for resisting the temptation to supply more than the meager historical record clearly warrants. Nevertheless, in my opinion, he has stuck too close to straight biography in two respects. He has failed to provide biographical notes on many historical figures who were associated in some way with Atkinson's activities. Such notes would have been entirely legitimate and helpful to students as well. For example, it might have been stated that Major William Whistler was not the father of the artist and that Eugene Leitensdorfer (here spelled Leitenschorfer) was later engaged in the Sante Fe trade. Opportunity might also have been taken to present some detail concerning life in the army. Although Nichols' decision not to do so may be successfully defended on the ground that it would lie beyond the scope and purpose of his work, such material would have provided a background against

which the figure of Atkinson would have stood out with greater clarity. It is, nonetheless, a useful work.

Colorado College

HARVEY L. CARTER

WILLIAM WOLFSKILL, 1798-1866: FRONTIER TRAPPER TO CALIFORNIA RANCHERO. By *Iris Higbie Wilson*. [Western Frontiersmen Series, Number 12.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1965. Pp. 268. \$9.00 postpaid.)

Few western historians are familiar with the name William Wolfskill. Indeed, this "Kentucky trapper" is so overshadowed by individuals such as Joe Meek, Jim Bridger, Kit Carson, and Jedediah Smith that he has rarely been mentioned outside of California history books. Yet Wolfskill's contribution to the development of the Far West is more evident today than that of a dozen Jim Bridgers. One of the early mountain men to reach the Pacific Coast, he remained in the Mexican province as a permanent resident and pioneered a variety of economic activities.

Though the basis for California's citrus, wine, and cattle industries already had been established when Wolfskill arrived in 1831, he soon became a recognized leader in all three. He eventually settled in the southern part of the future state, raised a large family, built a Spanish style mansion that affectionately became known as "Old Adobe," and sponsored the first public school in Los Angeles. His various cattle ranches, orange groves, and vineyards covered lands valued at more than \$150,000 at the time of his death in 1866. Today they could not be purchased for several hundred times that amount.

Wolfskill was too busy and his interests and enterprises too varied to take part in the gold rush. But for thirty-five years he played an important role in California's transformation from a sleepy Mexican outpost to a region destined to become the most populated state in the Union.

Iris Higbie Wilson's first book represents a scholarly and readable narrative about one of the most remarkable Kentuckians who ever migrated beyond the Mississippi. In addition, it presents excellent summaries of two of California's most important industries, citrus and wine. Although this is by no means a definitive biography, the author nevertheless is to be commended for what she has done with the limited research materials available.

University of Oklahoma

W. EUGENE HOLLON

THE PAPERS OF JOHN WILLIS ELLIS. Volume I, 1841-1859; Volume II, 1860-1861. Edited by *Noble J. Tolbert*. (Raleigh, N. C.: State Department of Archives and History. 1964. Pp. civ, 341; 342-918. \$10.00 each.)

JOHN Ellis, born in 1820, was a North Carolinian who served two terms in his state's legislature (1844-1848) and for the next ten years as one of its superior court judges (1848-1858). Yet the only office of real consequence that he held in his comparatively short life was the governorship of North Carolina. He was elected easily to that office in 1858 and, by a much-reduced margin, was re-elected in 1860. In July 1861 he died, in the midst of heavy labors to enlist and equip

troops for Confederate service. He was an urbane and judicious man, capable of levity and wit, and he was always a loyal Democrat. Yet even as a young man he seemed not to be deeply infected by strong Jacksonian notions; in middle age his conservatism grew.

Except for some inconsequential letters, all of Ellis' surviving papers are now published in these two volumes. The editor's searches have been commendably thorough. Yet the results are largely disappointing: the letters and speeches are mostly routine and do not reveal much that is interesting about Ellis or significant about his times. Ironically, the one public project that gets extended space, repairing the dams and locks of the Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation works in 1859-1860, was thoroughly insignificant. About five-sixths of the material published here was correspondence received by Ellis, and almost half of the eight hundred pages of text provides details of the effort to prepare and equip North Carolina for war. Ellis himself favored secession as soon as Lincoln was elected President, and he chafed because public opinion in North Carolina lagged behind that in the lower South. North Carolinians, like other southerners, had done little or nothing before 1861 to prepare for war, and these pages disclose at great length how much work North Carolina had to do in 1861 to repair its long neglect of its militia and its military equipment.

The editor's work is undistinguished; it would have been more useful if it had recognized a stronger duty to give an occasional explanation and a smaller compulsion to identify every single name. The first volume contains a sixty-three-page biographical sketch of Ellis that is regrettably inane.

Emory University

JAMES Z. RABUN

BURLINGTON ROUTE: A HISTORY OF THE BURLINGTON LINES.

By *Richard C. Overton*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1965. Pp. xxviii, 623, xl. \$10.00.)

Few volumes of railroad history have been as carefully planned and written as this centennial story of a railroad that has long served the Midwest. Professor Overton has managed to touch on most of the varied aspects of the Burlington as it grew from a little 12-mile branch line near Chicago in 1849 to a system of more than 8,500 miles today. But the author admits that he is most concerned with the men who have built and managed the railroad. Of the many leaders in this entrepreneurial group Overton seems to favor three: John Murray Forbes, the Bostonian who guided the financial development of the road in its first half century; Charles E. Perkins, the president who tripled the line's mileage in the 1880's and 1890's; and Ralph Budd, who was a vital force in the modernization of the entire rail industry in the mid-twentieth century. This is an entertaining story of how several unusual men created a great railroad.

Throughout its long corporate history the Burlington has been known for its financial responsibility. Sober management has paid off; the road has never been close to receivership, and it has paid dividends every year since the Civil War. Since its acquisition by James J. Hill's Great Northern and Northern Pacific in 1901 the Burlington has on several occasions been of real financial value to its northern owners. In the last generation it will be remembered for such innovations

as the streamlined Zephyr, the popular vista dome passenger car, and the economical slumber coach.

This book has clearly been a labor of love. Overton has long been interested in the Burlington and has been collecting source material for many years. For this volume the company gave Overton unrestricted access to its records. The result is a remarkably full and factual account written in an objective and impartial manner. Some of the best writing covers the efforts of the railroad to meet the challenges of depression and war in the mid-twentieth century. There are few errors, and they are inconsequential. The index, while extensive, is not easy to use because too many items are hidden under the heading, "Chicago Burlington & Quincy Railroad." The bibliography is excellent. Overton has given us the definitive business history.

Purdue University

JOHN F. STOVER

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S PHILOSOPHY OF COMMON SENSE: AN ANALYTICAL BIOGRAPHY OF A GREAT MIND. In three volumes. By *Edward J. Kempf*. [Special Publications of the New York Academy of Sciences, Volume VI.] (New York: the Academy. 1965. Pp. xxiv, 412; v, 413-870; v, 871-1443. \$30.00 the set.)

THIS ambitious work by an eighty-year-old psychiatrist can be described only as a curiosity. At least half of the more than fourteen hundred pages are given over to extensive quotations taken largely from Lincoln's *Collected Works*. Chapter XLVI, for example, turns out to be the first inaugural address with a one-page introduction and a two-page conclusion quoting the editorial comments of six newspapers.

The author's stated purpose is to present an "analytical" biography of Lincoln, in contrast with all the "popular" and "historical" biographies that have preceded it. What this means is a scientific study of Lincoln's mental development, or, as Dr. Kempf puts it: "Analytical biography correlates the natural sequences of particular stages and levels of concomitant development of personality with body, under particular experience-conditioning environmental excitations and inhibitions of particular forms of acquisitive and avoidance behavior." The central thesis of the work is that a kick from a horse when Lincoln was nine years old caused permanent cerebral damage, which strongly affected his personality and public career. Someone else will have to pass judgment on the medical competence of Kempf's investigation; for historians, there are some interesting suggestions, but few reliable conclusions. The author has been thorough but uncritical in his reading of source materials. He is also given to erecting complex structures of psychological explanation upon pinheads of historical evidence. For instance, it is one thing to maintain that the slaughtering of his pet pig contributed to Lincoln's alienation from his father; it is something else to insist that this incident gave the boy an "unforgettable presentiment" of the tragedies lying ahead of him, or that as a consequence "his heart became set upon fighting against dominating injustice wherever he met it." Finally, the writing is too often a bad marriage of professional jargon and stream-of-thought garrulity. Here is an illustration chosen at random: "His discrimination of equilateral versus unilateral morality and justice,

we have seen, was self-socially equilibrating, conscientiously obsessive, including even his sense of humor which regaled in stories of frustrations of egocentric meaning." At thirty dollars a set, avoidance behavior is regretfully recommended.

Stanford University

DON E. FEHRENBACHER

NEGLECTED HISTORY: ESSAYS IN NEGRO HISTORY BY A COLLEGE PRESIDENT. By *Charles H. Wesley*. (Wilberforce, Ohio: Central State College Press. 1965. Pp. 200. \$2.00.)

"The worst crime the white man has committed," Malcolm X once avowed, "has been to teach us to hate ourselves." The white historian, it might be added, played no small part in achieving this end. It was not enough that the Negro should be deprived of his legal rights; he was also stripped of any meaningful past and assigned the historical role of a docile slave and a shiftless freeman, or ignored altogether. Much as the Negro has fought to exercise his legal rights, so he has also endeavored to combat the bias and neglect of the historian and create for his "race" a more significant place in the annals of the American people. Among the prominent pioneers in this effort has been Charles H. Wesley, the president of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, an organization founded in 1915 by Carter G. Woodson for "the collection of sociological and historical documents and the promotion of studies bearing on the Negro."

This small volume of essays, most of which have been previously published (though the dates of their original appearance are omitted), contains some well-documented and revealing studies of the Negro's role in the abolitionist societies and antislavery political parties, the quest for equal suffrage in the ante bellum period, the struggle for equal rights in Boston, the Negro's contributions to "Our Wars for Freedom," and his efforts to force white Americans to implement their war aims at home. Much of this material has never found its way into standard histories; indeed, Wesley deplores the ways in which "bias, neglect, and omission" have all too often characterized the historian's treatment of the American Negro, and he urges his professional colleagues to correct this injustice, both in their writing and teaching.

In any such reassessment, prompted as it is by the social upheaval of the past decade, there is the possibility that overt racial chauvinism will distort the facts, and Wesley does not help matters when, for example, he advances Crispus Attucks as one of the "first martyrs to freedom" in America. But despite some occasional and perhaps pardonable bursts of race pride, Wesley's essays may be judged for the most part on their scholarly merits. The student of Negro history will find here, and to an even greater extent in Wesley's *Negro Labor in the United States*, some valuable documentation and innumerable suggestions for further and more intensive study. And it would appear, on the basis of recent scholarship in slavery, abolitionism, and Reconstruction, that Wesley's call for a reassessment of the Negro's historical role is finally being heeded. If continued at its present pace, it should help to make the centennial of Radical Reconstruction a most significant one.

University of California, Berkeley

LEON F. LITWACK

INDIANA IN THE CIVIL WAR ERA, 1850-1880. By *Emma Lou Thornbrough*. [The History of Indiana, Volume III.] (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society. 1965. Pp. xii, 758. Cloth \$7.50, paper \$4.50.)

To celebrate the sesquicentennial of their state's admission to the Union, the Indiana Historical Society and the Indiana Historical Bureau have, with the aid of a grant from the Lilly Endowment, embarked upon a program to retell the Hoosier State's story. Dealing with Indiana from 1850 to 1880, this book is Volume III in the projected five-volume series. Stemming from research in a wide variety of sources, its early chapters cover in detail such themes as Indiana's transition in the 1850's from a Democratic to a Republican stronghold, the state's role in the Civil War, and politics during the post-Civil War decade. The concluding chapters are devoted to such topics as education, agriculture, religion, and intellectual and social life.

The names of Indiana's leaders are familiar to students of the period. On the Republican side there were George W. Julian, the abolitionist; Schuyler Colfax, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives and Ulysses S. Grant's Vice-President; Benjamin Harrison, later President of the United States; and Walter Q. Gresham, a member of Grover Cleveland's cabinet. Representing the Democrats were such figures as Senator Thomas Hendricks, the party's vice-presidential nominee in 1876; Daniel W. Voorhees, long a power in the US Senate; and Governor James D. ("Blue Jeans") Williams, "one of the most colorful candidates in the entire history of Indiana politics."

Describing the interparty clash, Miss Thornbrough leaves little doubt about her sympathies. Her prince of players is Governor Oliver P. Morton, who "revealed himself as an organizational genius, a veritable dynamo, and full of determination" during the Civil War. A Democratic criticism of Morton, the author dismisses as "tasteless." Significantly, Morton is the only individual whose picture appears among the thirty-seven illustrations—one is of a brewery in Tell City and another of a distillery in Aurora—gracing the book. In sharp contrast to Morton, Hendricks' Senate service is dismissed as "largely negative."

But all in all this is a fine book. Handsome in appearance, skillfully organized, carefully researched, and clearly written, it is full of important information for both the national and regional historian. The sesquicentennial history of Indiana is off to an auspicious start.

Queens College

STANLEY P. HIRSHSON

WHEN THE GUNS ROARED: WORLD ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. By *Philip Van Doren Stern*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1965. Pp. xxii, 385. \$6.50.)

When the Guns Roared is focused broadly and loosely upon the broad and loose topic indicated in its subtitle. The book's major concerns are the attempts of the Union and of the Confederate governments to get sympathy, support, and assistance from abroad, with the concurrent reactions of foreigners to those attempts and to various other aspects of the Civil War. Thus, the book is primarily

a narrative of "foreign relations," broadly defined, during the Civil War, including the attitudes toward foreign relations of unionists, Confederates, and foreigners. Mr. Stern describes his purpose as the creation of a synthesis: "I have tried to tie together diplomacy, propaganda, espionage, naval affairs, and the many behind-the-scenes actions which affected the outcome of the war. Some of these have been treated separately before [Stern mentions writings by E. D. Adams, Callahan, Owsley, and James D. Bulloch], but they have never been put into one book."

One way to describe and evaluate a synthesis is to ask whether it presents enough original material, or enough original or profound analysis-interpretation, to make the synthesis indispensable or decidedly useful for specialists, nonspecialists, or both. So far as specialists are concerned, the book does include some previously unused or seldom used source material that will be of interest and value. Much or most of this "original" material comes from the papers of Thomas Haines Dudley, United States consul at Liverpool during the Civil War. The Dudley papers provide what is probably the book's most important contribution to scholarship: the description of the activities of Samuel Price Edwards, British Collector of the Port at Liverpool and the British official most directly responsible for handling issues arising from the construction of vessels for the Confederate government in the Laird shipyards. On the basis of evidence from the Dudley papers, Stern suggests that Edwards' actions with respect to those vessels were due to his being both a sympathizer with the Confederacy and a speculator in cotton. But original evidence of this sort comprises only a small part of the volume; the remaining portion parallels standard published sources and standard historical writings. Moreover, as synthesis the book does not possess the originality, rigor, depth, or subtlety of interpretation that would make it of outstanding value to the specialist. I conclude, therefore, that, while there are things the specialist might learn from the volume, it will not win a similar place with the writings by Bulloch, Adams, W. R. West, Owsley, Jordan and Pratt, and Sideman and Friedman.

For nonspecialists the book offers, in addition to the original scholarship described above, a generally reliable account of many aspects of the Civil War. Indeed, the focus is so broad that at least something is included about almost every facet of the war. How readable and appealing the book will seem to nonspecialists will presumably depend upon their taste. Those who like their popular history tightly written, precisely focused, and rigorously constructed will probably have reservations about the book. Those whose taste runs to popular history that bears a highly personalized or individualized stamp, reflecting not only the author's scholarly findings, but also his interests and whims, will probably like the book.

University of Washington

THOMAS J. PRESSLY

THE CRISIS OF THE UNION: 1860-1861. Edited by *George Harmon Knoles*. ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 115. \$3.50.)

THIS book is the result of a conference to discuss the secession crisis held by the Institute of American History, March 1-2, 1963. The four papers then delivered and the comments that followed are the substance of the volume. Thus Glyndon

G. Van Deusen, with Don E. Fehrenbacher commenting, discusses "Why the Republican Party Came to Power"; Roy F. Nichols, with Robert W. Johannsen commenting, handles "Why the Democratic Party Divided"; Avery Craven, with Charles G. Sellers, Jr., commenting, deals with "Why the Southern States Seceded"; and David M. Potter, with Kenneth M. Stampp commenting, treats "Why the Republicans Rejected Both Compromise and Secession."

The result is a succinct restatement by Nichols and Potter of positions they have long held. Johannsen agrees with Nichols that a failure of leadership, particularly southern, accounts for the disruption of the democracy, but he also emphasizes "the yawning gorge that separated North and South." Stampp takes issue with Potter's conclusion that Republicans assumed the southern threat to secede was "a form of political blackmail." Instead, Stampp contends that most Republicans concluded the South meant what it said and were, therefore, prepared to use whatever force was necessary to uphold federal law.

Both Van Deusen and Fehrenbacher conclude that the Republican rise to power was the result of a complex of causes with a particular emphasis on "the moral and idealistic side." Craven's essay has already appeared in his *An Historian and the Civil War*. It marks, as Sellers notes, a considerable shift from the position Craven took in *The Coming of the Civil War*. The blundering generation has given way to "a blundering Southern leadership." Sellers' criticisms are the most telling of those of any of the commentators, as the significant revisions Craven subsequently made in his original essay indicate.

In all of the essays and comments two points emerge: the inability of the North to reconcile its moral commitment with slavery and the determination of the South to protect its peculiar institution led to war. Thus Van Deusen cites the pre-eminence of the "moral motive" for Republicans, and Fehrenbacher describes them as "essentially an anti-slavery party." Craven concludes that the South resorted "to secession for the protection of slavery," an act that Sellers contends was a southern acknowledgment of its frightening isolation in a world that viewed it as "degraded and unworthy because of the institution of servitude." As Stampp concludes, Lincoln's second inaugural address explained the Republican acceptance of the war the South made. In that same address, the wartime President stated slavery "was, somehow, the cause of the war." These essays demonstrate the precision of that judgment.

Columbia University

JAMES P. SHENTON

LINCOLN'S ATTORNEY GENERAL: EDWARD BATES OF MISSOURI.

By Marvin R. Cain. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1965. Pp. x, 361. \$7.00.)

For more than three decades historians have made fruitful use of *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866*, edited for the American Historical Association by Howard K. Beale. Now Marvin Cain has given us a biography of Bates, based upon extensive manuscript research, including the earlier portion of the diary, 1846-1852, that Beale was unable to obtain for publication from the Missouri Historical Society. Cain's well-documented study makes no major alterations in

the familiar story of Lincoln and his associates, but affords significant information on the politics of the times and on Bates's role in Lincoln's cabinet.

The author portrays Bates as a representative and transitional political figure; a conservative opponent of change who clung to the Whig party in Missouri while it went to pieces in the 1850's; a vacillating state leader who hardly realized the degree of national prominence he had slowly attained until, at the age of sixty-five, he was "almost overwhelmed" by the possibility of becoming a compromise Republican candidate for the presidency. Bates the politician seldom appears to be a man of principle. His unfortunate enlistment in the Know-Nothing party in 1854 Cain terms "sheer political expediency." Even his moderate anti-slavery position seems to have been forced upon him by the times, developing slowly and painfully out of his concern not for the slave but for the voter.

Bates's performance as Lincoln's Attorney General is difficult to assess. Despite his age, he was remarkably active. Cain shows him reorganizing and enlarging his office; putting aside his private misgivings and devising legal opinions in support of Lincoln's emergency policies, such as the blockade and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus; guiding his district attorneys with directives that usually struck a cautionary note; protesting vehemently against military infringement of the civil law; resisting ideas of emancipation and of social and political equality for the Negro; and tactlessly pressing his military and political views upon the President at every opportunity. In Cain's opinion, "Bates played a more effective role in Lincoln's cabinet than has heretofore been thought." This is a cautious judgment and perhaps the best reading of the evidence. Yet one reflects that in the end Bates failed. Serving at Lincoln's elbow, he persistently misjudged him as a weak President, became estranged from him, and resigned from the cabinet feeling discouraged and helpless.

This biography occasionally lapses into stylistic awkwardness, and it makes so little use of the salty phrases and intimate human detail to be found in the *Diary* that it seldom evokes the living man. The lack of artistry is counterbalanced by the admirable research, presented with good organization and thoughtful analysis. Cain's work should find a permanent place among scholarly studies in Civil War history.

University of California, Riverside

HAL BRIDGES

GENERAL WILLIAM J. HARDEE: OLD RELIABLE. By *Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr.* [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 329. \$8.50.)

A PRODIGIOUS amount of work has gone into this book which ought to be considered a military biography rather than William Hardee's "life." If the nature of the sources makes it impossible (and it does) to write a biography in the sense of personality development without pressing the scanty evidence far into inference and conjecture, the alternative is to write the story of Hardee during the Civil War; then at least the public record and consequently his public life became fairly complete. This Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., has done with industry, discrimination, and clarity. In essence, he has written a tactical history of the Army of Tennessee of which Hardee was a corps commander for most of the

war. Indeed when Hughes comes to summarize Hardee it is as a corps commander, not as a person.

He makes a good case that Hardee was the best drillmaster in the Confederate Army, and until the use of prepared field fortifications rendered his methods obsolescent, his tactical handling of divisional and corps level units ranked him with the best the Confederacy possessed, as befits the author of the standard *Tactics*, the guidebook for both armies. Hughes also makes it quite clear that the corps was Hardee's instrument; army operations were beyond his ability, and, as Hardee himself claimed, desire, though his quarrels with John Hood would belie it. In his handling of the Hood-Hardee squabble, Hughes's method is emphasized: thorough investigation within the bounds of the written record coupled with a fair appraisal of the evidence. When Hardee is right, Hughes is pleased to say so; when Hardee errs, Hughes does not evade it.

There are only the lineaments of Hardee's life—the Georgia boyhood, the campaign to get into West Point, the first marriage and schooling in France, the Mexican War and garrison service, the *Tactics*—until he goes to West Point as commandant. As he completed this tour of duty the country was on the verge of war and the creation of the Army of Tennessee was only months away. From that time until the army was surrendered, its fate and Hardee's were inextricably linked. After the surrender there are only the lineaments again: the return to his second wife's plantation in Alabama, the business ventures, the old cronies and whist in the evening, and finally death. Through it all, Hardee's ideal was the competent professional soldier. Thoroughly and without special pleading, Hughes shows that Hardee usually realized the ideal, and while Hughes does this he has provided significant insights into the campaigns of the Army of Tennessee.

University of North Carolina

PETER F. WALKER

THE C.S.S. FLORIDA: HER BUILDING AND OPERATIONS. By *Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1965. Pp. 208. \$6.00.)

NEXT to the *Alabama*, the *Florida* enjoyed the most spectacular career among Confederate commerce raiders, and its history must figure with some prominence in any account of the Confederate Navy. This book may therefore serve as one more steppingstone to the modern scholarly history of that navy, which we still await. It supersedes Edward Boykin's book on the *Florida*, if only because Owsley found the hitherto missing volumes of the *Florida's* log in the unprocessed Record Group 76 of the National Archives (concerning the *Alabama* claims) and used this material along with previously little-exploited material in Record Group 45.

Mostly the book is a straightforward recital of everything of consequence the *Florida* did and everything that happened to it, from James Bulloch's arrangements for its construction in Liverpool to its sinking while it was in Union hands after the U. S. S. *Wachusett* captured it in the neutral harbor of Bahia, Brazil. Owsley also follows its offspring, *Clarence* and *Tacony*, prizes outfitted in turn for commerce raiding, and the brief Confederate career of *Tacony's* prize, the

Cushing. He states in his preface that "A detailed study of the *Florida* illustrates, perhaps better than a study of any other cruiser, the full scale use by the United States of diplomatic warfare," but although there is much in the book about northern ministers' and consuls' efforts to harass the *Florida* and their hopes to end its voyages by invoking diplomatic pressure and international law, this statement seems to promise more about the diplomatic history of the Civil War than the book delivers. Owsley allows himself a bias in favor of the ship and its cause that is surprising at this distance from the war. On occasions when the *Florida* played rather fast and loose with international law, he refrains from comment, but he is highly indignant at *Wachusett's* violation of Brazilian neutrality to capture the *Florida*. He also strains a point to try to give his story contemporary interest by treating commerce raiding as the guerrilla warfare of the sea. Such matters are incidental, however, to the naval story that Owsley tells well, including judicious estimates of the talents of the *Florida's* two commanders, John Newland Maffitt and John Manigault Morris.

Temple University

RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY

JOHN WESLEY NORTH AND THE REFORM FRONTIER. By *Merlin Stonehouse*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 272. \$6.00.)

THE author of this book opens with some tantalizing and thought-provoking observations. "We can never understand the reconstruction of the South," he writes, "until we examine it as part of a general expansion of the country, as a westward movement temporarily diverted southward." That carpetbaggers were "evil opportunists" is a fallacy. The "common inspiration" of carpetbaggers was "evangelical humanism." The "common experience" of carpetbaggers was "the westward movement." "The common source of carpetbaggers' ideas was the radical Republicanism which began in fact if not in name in the North and West before the war." Having teased the reader with these statements (all found in the introduction), the author proceeds to lead him down other paths. This is not a study of southern Reconstruction, carpetbaggers, or evangelical humanism; it is not even a study of the "reform frontier" (at least I found little in the book that clarified these words in the title).

This is a study, and a painstakingly detailed one at that, of John Wesley North and his successive, but not always successful, attempts at promotion and investment in various parts of the West and South. North was one of that restless breed of frontiersmen who, ever on the move, carried into the wilderness organizational skill, initiative, and a willingness to risk greatly and who left behind flourishing cities, railroads, industries, and lush, fertile fields. Like so many others of his kind, North combined economic activity with political aspirations, leaving his mark not only on the countryside but also on the less tangible institutions of government. For all of the historians' preoccupation with the frontier and with frontier types, these political-economic entrepreneurs—the author calls them carpetbaggers, but never offers a satisfactory explanation for so doing—have been curiously neglected. It is too bad, for their story, as this book demonstrates, could be as exciting as anything that has emanated from the

pens of frontier historians during the past half century or so. But, although this book is a gesture toward ending this neglect, the author misses his opportunity. He distracts the reader with such statements as those quoted above and repeated occasionally throughout the book, and, similarly aggravating, he allows the details of North's daily life to obscure his subject's larger significance.

North's record was fantastic. In Minnesota, during the decade before statehood, he practiced law, founded the University of Minnesota, promoted immigration, helped to organize the Republican party, developed two townsites, and pushed railroad development. Appointed surveyor general of Nevada Territory by Lincoln, he practiced law, developed a townsite, built a sawmill and a stamping mill, and held a judgeship on that turbulent mining frontier. In both Minnesota and Nevada he helped to ease the transition from territory to state as a member of their respective constitutional conventions. With the end of the Civil War, he moved to Knoxville, where he sought to bring industrial development and northern investment to eastern Tennessee, and, four years later, he led a colony to California. On California deserts, he developed townsites and irrigation works, laying the foundation for a lasting and prosperous economy in the process. If the author has faltered somewhat in the pursuit of his subject, he has at least presented us with the outlines of an important story of frontier development.

University of Illinois

ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN

ATTICUS GREENE HAYGOOD: METHODIST BISHOP, EDITOR, AND EDUCATOR. By *Harold W. Mann*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 254. \$6.00.)

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Southern Methodism lost something of its rural character, and its leadership passed to the big city churches of the comfortable middle class. If Professor Mann's biography of Atticus Greene Haygood may be said to have a central theme, it is Haygood's ambivalent response to this trend. Unfortunately, his preoccupation with his intellectual uncertainties obscures the personality of this important southern church leader. To call him a "cultural schizophrenic" who went "through the motions required of him within the confined and confining crib of Southern Methodism" is an injustice to Haygood and to good English usage as well.

It is irrelevant and confusing for the biographer to attempt vainly to pinpoint the moment of Haygood's "psychic crisis" (which, we are told, did not occur when it presumably should have). In spite of this shortcoming, Mann is convincing when he unravels the threads of progressivism and conservatism in Haygood's intellectual make-up. He retained a healthy nostalgia for the rural Methodism he knew as a child in the north Georgia Piedmont before the war. He was, therefore, skeptical of the Holiness movement, prohibitionism, pew-holding, and the other innovations that affected Southern Methodism of the later period. A factor in his conservatism was his relationship with the autocratic Bishop George Pierce, who arranged his appointment to the flourishing Methodist publishing center in Nashville and later his selection as president of Emory University. As a college president, Haygood was popular and progres-

sive but rather ineffective in handling money problems. The most entertaining and acute chapters are about this period of his life, although here as elsewhere there is a disjointedness about the organization. The culmination of Haygood's career, however, was his acceptance of the general agency of the Slater Fund in 1881. Haygood had won northern attention and his new job with his book *Our Brothers in Black*, which criticized southern racial attitudes with a remarkable frankness considering the source and circumstances, but once again he proved a poor administrator. While all agreed with his buoyant optimism about promoting industrial education to speed Negro advance, most of the trustees disapproved his dispersal of funds over so wide a range of colleges. Haygood, however, was simply following the traditional pattern of evangelization, spreading money thinly as if each college, with its manual instruction departments, could act as a missionary station in the wilderness. One would have expected greater attention to Haygood's relations with southern Negro college leaders, particularly Booker T. Washington, but the author deals adequately with Haygood's successes and failings in this work.

While commendably interested in Haygood's intellectual roots, Mann has not fully conveyed the vitality of his subject.

University of Colorado

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF COLONEL ALBERT JENNINGS FOUNTAIN. By *A. M. Gibson*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 301. \$5.95.)

To end once and for all the whispered rumors and hints by other writers, Gibson attempts to solve the "mystery" surrounding the disappearance of Colonel Fountain and his eight-year-old son that has long intrigued southwesterners. While serving both as deputy United States district attorney and judge, the courageous old Civil War hero incurred the hatred of powerful men by his determination to stamp out cattle rustling. With equal daring and a straightforward frontier style, his biographer reveals evidence from new sources to conclude that the "not guilty" verdict releasing Albert Bacon Fall and Oliver and Jim Gilliland to a wildly cheering courtroom in June 1896 truly dethroned justice.

But more important than tracing the murderers, Gibson records the important role Fountain played in developing southern New Mexico. Not only a lawyer, prosecutor, and judge, he was once a crusading newspaperman, commanded the militia against Apaches, and organized amazingly high-quality theatrical, literary, and musical groups. His civilizing influence included founding a library at Mesilla and helping establish an agricultural college at Las Cruces. He worked hard to bring in a railroad and settlers, led in the drive to admit New Mexico as a state, and played a major role in the Republican party in Texas as president of the state Senate and later in New Mexico.

The research is sound and the story well told, dramatic reading for the general public as well as scholars. Unfortunately, Gibson admires Fountain so much that he seems to regard those opposing him as dishonest or foolish, even all Texans attempting to rid the state of its carpetbag government during Recon-

struction. But it does give Fountain his rightful place in our history and fills another missing gap in the Southwest's colorful past.

University of Texas

JIM B. PEARSON

CARPETBAGGER'S CRUSADE: THE LIFE OF ALBION WINEGAR TOURGÉE. By *Otto H. Olsen*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 395. \$7.95.)

ALBION W. Tourgée's life was dominated by two crusades: the carpetbagger's struggle to implement the equalitarian ideals of Reconstruction in North Carolina and the former carpetbagger's eloquent but doomed efforts to recommit an increasingly indifferent North to these same ideals. A prominent Reconstruction political leader, an able lawyer and judge, a vigorous and prolific polemicist, a popular novelist, and the most outspoken white champion of racial equality from 1880 to 1900, Tourgée has long deserved a full-scale, scholarly biography. Professor Olsen's volume fulfills the need.

Tourgée was born and raised in the Western Reserve, where his parents and his future wife were swept into the antislavery movement. Young Albion professed indifference to this crusade until his experiences as a Union Army lieutenant belatedly converted him to abolitionism. Once converted, Tourgée never retreated from his militant commitment to the cause of Negro rights. Twice wounded during the war, he was attracted by the salubrious climate and economic opportunities of the postwar South. Locating at Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1865, Tourgée practiced law, engaged unsuccessfully in several business enterprises, and was drawn into politics. As a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1868, the idealistic carpetbagger, not yet thirty years old, emerged as one of the state's leading Republicans, a spokesman for poor men of both races, the architect of a new civil code, and a successful advocate of progressive legal and political reforms. Elected as a judge of the state superior court, Tourgée clashed repeatedly with the Ku Klux Klan, incurred the enmity of white supremacists, and responded to threats against his life by fortifying his home, which he had defiantly named "Carpet-Bag Lodge." In 1875 Tourgée led a partly successful rear-guard Republican fight against Democratic revisions of the state constitution of 1868. Four years later the carpetbagger reluctantly left his adopted state, which no longer held any future for him, and embarked on a new crusade in the North. The astonishing success of his anonymous novel about Reconstruction, *A Fool's Errand*, encouraged him to take up a literary career, and in the next twenty years no less than fourteen novels, several nonfiction books, dozens of short stories, and hundreds of articles, editorials, and published letters flowed from his pen. Most of these writings dealt with the race problem. Tourgée denounced the northern abandonment of Reconstruction, called for a renewed effort to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and urged federal aid to education as the best means of curing southern illiteracy and poverty. In the 1890's he founded the National Citizens Rights Association, a short-lived but prophetic forerunner of the NAACP, and led the legal challenge to Louisiana's "separate but equal" Jim Crow law, a challenge that ended in defeat with the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896.

Despite his faults, which included egotism, impetuosity, occasional pomposity, and a literary style often marred by verbose sentimentalism, Tourgée remains an attractive and important personality. And despite its faults, which include a somewhat lackluster style, an occasional imprecision in the use of words and phrases, and an inadequate discussion of Tourgée's early life, this biography remains a first-rate achievement. Olsen's chapters on Reconstruction, especially the portions dealing with the Ku Klux Klan, are a welcome addition to the revisionist interpretation of that era, and his analysis of Tourgée's writings is discerning and able. The photographs and illustrations are well chosen, the index adequate, the critical bibliography excellent, and the Johns Hopkins Press has done a handsome job of design and production. Based on thorough and careful research, this is a book worth reading.

Princeton University

JAMES M. MCPHERSON

AFTER SLAVERY: THE NEGRO IN SOUTH CAROLINA DURING RECONSTRUCTION, 1861-1877. By Joel Williamson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 442. \$7.50.)

A GENERATION ago, in 1932, historians of liberal persuasion reviewing Simkins' and Woody's *South Carolina during Reconstruction* praised the volume as a model revisionist work. But the book, moderate and fair as it was, failed in its treatment of the Negro to rise above the white supremacist views of its authors.

Professor Williamson now revises the revisionists. Scorning the racial attitudes of the white supremacists, he approaches the problem of the South Carolina Negro during Reconstruction from the viewpoint of the current southern liberal—that is, that the Negro is not innately inferior to whites and does not possess “naturally” any fixed cultural traits. Williamson's view of Radical Reconstruction is that of very recent revisionism. His research is thorough, covering all the old standard sources and vast new manuscript materials. His writing is in the best tradition of history as literary art. His tone is sympathetic and judicious, though it is at times justifiably disdainful of the Negroes' critics.

The result is a revolutionary reinterpretation of the Negro during Reconstruction. Williamson's central theme is that South Carolina Negroes, in passing from slavery to freedom, met and overcame a multitude of economic and social problems. Their temporary political ascendancy, he maintains, “turned doubtful economic issues” in their favor and made Reconstruction for them “a tremendous success.” “The momentum gained was no doubt slowed by the reversal of the political tide in 1876 and 1877, but, during the dark and difficult decades which followed, political repression never quite became economic regression.” It was, of course, success in the economic and political realm that afforded the Negro an opportunity for giant steps forward in education, religion, and other fields.

He offers a serious challenge to the popular view inspired by Woodward that segregation was a late nineteenth-century phenomenon, presenting a well-documented case for his view that “physical separation of the races was the most revolutionary change in relations between whites and Negroes in South Carolina during Reconstruction.” This “duo-chromatic” pattern of separation, he argues,

was "fixed in the minds of whites almost simultaneously with the emancipation of the Negro." But it was based on mental patterns that "had achieved full growth even before freedom for the Negro was born."

Wade Hampton's recent champions, who see the general's program after 1877 as a statesmanlike approach to the problem of race relations, will be challenged to meet Williamson's interpretation of the man. For it is his view that the Hampton tradition of fairness to the Negro is largely a myth. The general did not preach racism and sponsor Jim Crow laws for the simple reason that there was no need for him to do so; custom had already dictated a segregated social order by the time he became governor, and federal civil rights legislation was virtually dead. Yet "the dead letter of the law" would be held up again and again "as exhibit 'A' in South Carolina's case that she was being fair to the Negro in the Hampton tradition." Moreover, Hampton never really gave the Negroes anything but token political justice. He was in "perfect harmony" with the white supremacist society that nurtured and reared him, and it was impossible for him to betray the values of that culture.

University of Arkansas

WALTER L. BROWN

THE NEGRO IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF FLORIDA, 1865-1877.

By *Joe M. Richardson*. [Florida State University Studies, Number 46.]
(Tallahassee: Florida State University. 1965. Pp. xi, 255. \$7.00.)

IN this monograph Professor Richardson proposes not a thorough history of the reconstruction of Florida, but an evaluation of the role played by the freedmen in the state from 1865 to 1877 and their reaction to the varied and significant problems encountered. In effect, he accomplishes both purposes. He refutes many of the charges made against the Negro as incompetent, shiftless, and politically corrupt. And his detailed and carefully researched examination of military rule, the provisional government, the constitutional convention of 1868, and the roles of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Republican and Democratic parties in this period produces a revised picture of the reconstruction of Florida.

Yet the Negro is central in this study. Richardson treats topically the freedmen's adjustment to emancipation, to a free labor system, and to education and religious activities, as well as his less than equal treatment by the civil courts. In addition he underlines the helpful influence of the Freedmen's Bureau and stresses the importance of Negro political experience made possible by carpet-bag rule. Of particular value are the well-written vignettes of Negro political (and usually religious) leaders.

Moreover, the other side of the coin is revealed. The intransigence of conservative Democratic leaders, in spite of accommodations made for them by a Republican party split into radical and conservative wings, is clearly delineated. Thus many of the charges commonly directed against Republican rule in Florida, such as control by outsiders in conjunction with the freedmen, their supposed incompetence, extravagance, malfeasance in office, their creation of a phenomenal state debt, intolerable taxation, the squandering of state resources, and scandals in the development of the railroads, are either demolished or

greatly modified. In short, this study compares favorably with several recent studies of other southern states during Reconstruction.

The author has utilized a rich diversity of manuscript materials along with newspapers and other related sources. There are appended an index and bibliography, but one misses the inclusion of critical bibliographical commentary, especially on the primary sources. Richardson's admirable study should be well received by students of this era and section as well as those primarily interested in the Negro's past.

Connecticut College

SUZANNE C. LOWITT

THREE PATHS TO THE MODERN SOUTH: EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, AND CONSERVATION. By *Thomas D. Clark*. [Eugenia Dorothy Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures, Number 8, Delivered at Mercer University on October 27 and 28, 1964.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 103. \$3.00.)

THE three paths to the modern South that Professor Clark charts in this volume are the movements to improve education, agriculture, and conservation (largely in its agricultural implications) during the period 1865-1940. Concern with these basic problems in the region was surpassed only by the efforts to promote industrialization, and "literally thousands of crusaders" sought to create a better South by solving them. These men and women are old acquaintances of the author, whose frequent excursions among travelers, general storekeepers, and country editors in the South have given him an unrivaled knowledge of southern society since Appomattox. To some extent, these regional reformers were the creators of the modern South, though Clark does not exaggerate their achievements. Indeed, the most valuable aspect of his book may well be his critical evaluation of their unrealistic assumptions and illusory expectations. They believed, for instance, in the desirability and the possibility of a self-sufficient and isolated regional economy, they accepted inequality in the emerging educational system, and they wanted change confined too narrowly within the framework of tradition. Yet, despite their limitations, they presaged a South moving closer to national norms.

Clark's three lectures provide a convenient summary of regional conditions and reforms in the areas he discusses. But their chief significance stems from the author's thoughtful appraisal of these movements in terms of the economic and social revolution now occurring in the South, a development he earlier analyzed in *The Emerging South* (1961). About that revolution, Clark now writes: "No really significant part of the old economic way of southern life either survives or has a chance of revival in this age. An era has ended, and the demands of the future must be met efficiently and promptly."

Vanderbilt University

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR.

HARRY GARFIELD'S FIRST FORTY YEARS: MAN OF ACTION IN A TROUBLED WORLD. By *Lucretia Garfield Comer*. (New York: Vantage Press. 1965. Pp. 270. \$5.95.)

In this pleasant little memoir, Mrs. Comer records the childhood, youth, and early manhood of her distinguished father, Harry Garfield, the long-time president of Williams College and public servant during World War I. Using family letters, diaries, scrapbooks, and relatives' reminiscences, she has pieced together Garfield's boyhood years in Ohio and in Washington, D. C., and at St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire. What might have been uneventful years were disturbed by his father's election as the twentieth President and the great shock of his father's assassination in 1881. Hal, as he was called, and his brother, Jim (James R. Garfield, later a member of the US Civil Service Commission and cabinet member under Theodore Roosevelt), were at Williams College when their father died. After college, Hal became a Cleveland lawyer and a professor of law at Western Reserve University. Unfortunately, the author does not extend her biography beyond her father's fortieth year, 1903. As it stands, she does not record his years at Princeton as professor of politics (1903-1908), his presidency of Williams College (1908-1934), his service as US Fuel Administrator (1917-1919), and his founding of the Institute of Politics at Williams (1921). It was during these thirty-one years that he made his mark as a "man of action in a troubled world" rather than during his first forty years.

This book will be most useful for the future author of a full-length biography of Harry Garfield. Predictably, this future biographer will want to give fuller accounts of the Garfields' heartbreaking summer of 1881 and Hal's college and law preparation days, as well as his early dabblings into politics. And, predictably, this biographer will use additional sources and will employ the accepted forms for footnoting and for citing references.

Boston University

EVERETT WALTERS

AGE OF EXCESS: THE UNITED STATES FROM 1877 TO 1914. By Ray Ginger. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1965. Pp. x, 386. \$5.95.)

It is difficult to appraise impersonally such a highly personal book. The volume is a history "across the board"—economic, political, diplomatic, social, cultural, and most other varieties—from 1877 to 1914. The *Age of Excess* is at once an ambitious effort at synthesis, a monumental display of scholarly labor, and a statement of principle. As a synthesis it offers an explanation of the totality of American life in the years 1877 to 1914 in terms of an insatiable, all-embracing, and utterly exclusive drive for financial gain by the American people. That these years produced an excess of productive capacity is but one meaning, albeit the central meaning, of his characterization of the age as one of "excess." Excess, in the sense of a loathsome, materialistic grossness, he finds, spilled over from the life of the market place to infect every corner of the land and every aspect of life therein.

Ginger pokes "The Age" with a stick, seemingly nauseated at the thought of touching it. He pokes it in a great many previously undisturbed places ranging from the annals of obscure towns in Texas and the obscure lives of individuals to little-known but highly important economic archival material. The breadth of his research is truly remarkable. Yet on two scores, its applica-

tion is not always equally happy. First, in various instances some rather sweeping generalizations will be supported by evidence culled from obscure, often local, sources, suggesting without proving that the evidence is typical or even representative of a judicious sampling. Secondly, the continuous presentation of these bits and pieces gives the narrative a disjointed and impressionistic quality that is frequently confusing. Often the theme of the narrative is not equal to bearing the strain of providing coherence. If this is deliberate experimentation, and it seems to be, in historical narrative style, it is not a noteworthy success.

Nor is the thesis startlingly new. It is a more modern and somewhat more sophisticated version of Vernon Louis Parrington's and Charles A. Beard's views of these years. It differs from the older version in that in all of its 386 pages one is hard pressed to find anyone or anything during these years in which the author finds any merit whatever, except perhaps Eugene V. Debs, some American Indians, and a few obscure individuals. The inhabitants of the United States in the years between 1877 and 1914 were undoubtedly, for Mr. Ginger, the ugliest of Americans, and his anger at what he believes to be their lack of moral worth, their intellectual and spiritual poverty, blazes on nearly every page. His ample critical bibliographical essay is very nearly as controversial as the text.

Tulane University

W. BURLIE BROWN

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER'S LEGACY: UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. Edited with an introduction by *Wilbur R. Jacobs*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1965. Pp. xiii, 217. \$6.50.)

FREDERICK Jackson Turner is recognized generally as one of the most influential of American historians. His ideas concerning the importance of the frontier and of sections are well known, with his concepts of the significance of the frontier particularly widespread, even among novelists and politicians. Turner's frontier theories have been debated vigorously by historians in the past; today practically everyone working on the West agrees that Turner made vitally important contributions, but that his work also included certain omissions and misinterpretations. Consequently, much recent literature about Turner has concerned his sources of inspiration rather than the validity of his ideas.

This volume is an effort to show, through previously unpublished writings, the way that Turner's mind worked, the sources of his inspiration, and possibly a little more of his ideas, since he published little. Here are such items as classroom lectures, public speeches, and book reviews. Some of them are unfinished, and many demonstrate haste. Their contribution to a better understanding of Turner is minimal; in fact the compiler agrees that not only the reprinted writings but the entire Huntington collection from which they are taken do "not basically change our view of Turner." They will be useful only to the specialist who wants a little more insight into Turner, and even here the serious student must go to San Marino and read the total Huntington collection.

The best contribution of the book is Jacobs' fine introduction, in which he analyzes Turner's interests and methods and describes the influences that affected his thinking. This essay is the best of its kind that has yet appeared, even though

at times Jacobs seems a little overenthusiastic, as when he writes that "Turner appears to have understood his country and her history better than any other historian of his generation." A little later we find Turner saying, among other things, that William Jennings Bryan was basically a frontiersman, that the nation was near the possible limits of population, that states will lose power and sections take over control, that class and regional struggles are to a considerable degree synonymous, and that the arid West is the greatest source of socialistic labor ideas; we therefore have some misgivings as to whether the Turner crystal ball was always in good operating order.

The idea that comes continually to mind in reading this book is that we should soon have a good biography of Turner now that the necessary material is available. From time to time there have been rumors of one or more competent men who are working on the project. Let us hope that the rumors are true.

Texas Western College

ROBERT E. RIEGEL

KLONDIKE SAGA: THE CHRONICLE OF A MINNESOTA GOLD MINING COMPANY. By *Carl L. Lokke*. [Publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association, Travel and Description Series, Volume VII.] (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press for the Association. 1965. Pp. xiii, 211. \$5.50.)

THIS is an account of the origin and short-lived existence of a small, Minneapolis-based company organized to promote a prospecting and trading venture during the Yukon gold rush. The majority of the sixteen shareholders, all of whom participated in the expedition to the Klondike, were Scandinavians—hardy, venturesome young men who had migrated to America in the 1880's and 1890's. Their leader and the organizer of the company, Lars Gunderson, was a bookkeeper and onetime farmer, Wisconsin State assemblyman, and merchant. Gunderson's letters to a Minneapolis Norwegian-language newspaper during 1898-1899, and the diaries kept by three other members of the company, are the chief sources used by the late Carl L. Lokke, himself a grandson of Gunderson.

Beginning with an account of the formation of the company and the careful preparations for the expedition, the author then narrates the events of the formidable five-month journey to the gold fields, via Seattle, Skagway, and the Chilkoot Pass. The ordeals of the "Trail of '98" are a familiar story, but in this telling they are viewed through the eyes of resourceful and determined men who knew the obstacles to be faced and had planned their attack in advance. Lokke's account of the activities of the "Monitors" in the Yukon occupies the second half of the book. As prospectors they were failures, for neither determination nor organization could overcome the circumstance that all the productive sites had been occupied before their arrival. In addition to working on their diggings they engaged in small-scale trading, cutting logs for sale in Dawson, and employment with one of the large-scale operators on Bonanza Creek. A year and a half after leaving Minneapolis, with capital exhausted, the company was dissolved, and its members drifted back to Minnesota or to the newer settlements in the Pacific Northwest. Gunderson became a government mining claims commissioner in Alaska, where he died in 1903.

Lokke's work combines the apparatus of modern historical scholarship with deliberate emphasis on character and event in the style of the Norse sagas. The setting, particularly the institutions by which the Canadian government controlled the potentially anarchic society of this ebullient mining frontier, remains shadowy and vague. The book's chief contribution to the literature of the frontier is its confirmation of the fact that cooperative effort and the application of Northern European skills and attitudes produced successful ventures into the forest wilderness of North America.

University of Alberta

LEWIS H. THOMAS

POPULISTS, PLUNGERS, AND PROGRESSIVES: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF STOCK AND COMMODITY SPECULATION, 1890-1936. By *Cedric B. Cowing*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 299. \$6.50.)

RECENTLY a perennial traveler with a penchant for exploratory walking sat by a cobbler's bench in a remote Welsh village, while her shoes were being given much-needed repair. Suddenly the cobbler (himself well worn) burst forth with: "Ye come from America, don't ye? *That's* where a man can get ahead." He saw no speculative vista beckoning in Wales. Not so the "ordinary" American; for he is likely to share with high and low among his compatriots the gambling proclivities fostered by the phenomenal national growth, and other factors. He is prone to take chances himself, and vehemently to denounce such speculation as works to his disadvantage.

The literature on American speculation took a tremendous impetus from public demand to know the why of the 1929 cataclysm. Surveying the explanations, Mr. Cowing decided that we needed a brief history of our controversies over speculation (from the days of the Populists to those of the New Dealers). He has special interest in three aspects: the role of sectional politics, the classification of perennial critics, and the assumptions and predilections that carried post-World War I "investors" into brokers' offices.

This range of exploration carried Cowing from conflicts between agrarians and middlemen over commodities futures contracts into controversies over speculation on the exchanges in general. He comes up with three classes of "anti-speculators": the "agrarians," who believed commodity and stock speculative mechanisms could be destroyed by statute; the "financial reformers," who thought that from antifraud laws, from publicity and education, could evolve a morally inspired, self-governing class of public-spirited financiers; the "progressives," who accepted speculation as a continuing fact of life to be controlled by selective taxation of gain and by comprehensive regulation decreed by state and federal legislators.

The "agrarians" figure most consistently in an "Anti-Speculator Tier" of states—North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Texas, and Oklahoma—which are presented, in analysis of Senate votes on eighteen measures dealing with speculation between 1893 and 1938, indicating the percentage for and against the various bills. Only one other of the six groups of states classified into sections—Massachusetts down through Maryland—is sharply labeled; it is

termed "Speculative Seaboard," for Cowing is quite conscious that speculative attitudes are highly fluid.

The assumptions and predilections, functioning in attitudes toward speculation, appear (rather repetitively) in descriptions of congressional debates, hearings, and press comments. Obviously the book is designed for the general reader rather than for special students of commodity and stock exchanges who might have welcomed more cohesion and more use of specialized sources than the text reflects. Chronological clarity proves difficult in spots. The index of a book of this type is well-nigh an insolvable problem because concepts are difficult to adapt to indexing; the indexer meticulously included every individual even briefly cited as speaking on speculation, including clergymen. As the debate protagonists cited chiefly popular sources, these perforce comprise most of the page annotations, but the important point is that the notes are properly placed on their pertinent pages. Also, many of the *Congressional Record* notes include the date of the debate, which is a far more important research aid than the inclusion of the part number. It would be pleasant to believe that the people who could be most benefited by this realistic description would be likely to buy the book: those inexperienced lambs who could learn from this reminder of other lambs' experience with bulls and bears.

University of Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

THE CLIMAX OF POPULISM: THE ELECTION OF 1896. By *Robert F. Durden*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 190. \$5.00.)

WITH this book Professor Durden makes his contribution to the seemingly endless debate over the election of 1896. He asserts that in the political struggles of that year Populism reached its climax. Relying heavily on the papers of People's party chairman Marion O. Butler, the author works his way through the complexities of the campaign. And he goes far toward explaining local and sectional interests as well as the curious machinations within the People's party. Much of the central portion of the book is taken up with the running battle that developed between Butler and Tom Watson. In this account Butler emerges as the man of larger vision, while Watson appears as one who "remained impenetrable to the slightest suggestion that he might be wrong."

The emphasis here is not so much on the ideological differences within Populism as it is on party organization and on the struggle to maintain that organization. Durden must, nevertheless, venture some generalizations about what Populism represented. The great majority of People's party members, he finds, were not "doctrinaire socialists" but "angry agrarian capitalists." Apparently assuming that no radical could be a bona fide Populist, the author employs two devices to minimize the importance of ideology: he reads out of the party those Populists who advocated a radical program; he maintains that the "middle-of-the-road" faction simply wanted to preserve a distinction between the People's party and the Democratic party. Thus the Populists were no more concerned with ideological purity than were Democrats and Republicans, and, like

members of other parties, they attached great importance to securing the spoils of office.

Reducing Populism to a political party in most important respects similar to the major parties would seem to justify concentration on the activities and manipulations of People's party leaders. Such an approach, however, has serious limitations. For one thing, the fact that few of them were "doctrinaire socialists" does not preclude the possibility that Populism was a radical force. All Populists considered the platform—the essence of Populist belief—a matter of profound importance. To take the position that Populism was a party organization like any other organization is to run the risk of failing to see what caused the factional struggles of 1896 and why they seemed so vital. The substantive (not to say ideological) conflict within Populism was really the climactic one, and the postconvention Populist campaign was anticlimactic. Certainly Butler's political negotiations do not suggest climax; they suggest, rather, a futile attempt to salvage something from the wreckage of a party.

How a party struggling for survival could be at the peak of its influence remains a mystery that Durden does little to clear up with his negative comment that "Bryan's defeat was not to be attributed to any failure on the part of the People's party." From this point the author wanders off into an explanation of why Bryan actually did meet defeat, and in so doing he loses sight of the Populists. Fortunately he returns to them, but when he does, he comes round to the view that in the long run Populism was important because of the ideas it contained. In a conclusion that can be read as a failure to examine his assumptions and test his argument, Durden contends that Populism influenced progressivism and that it did so by teaching Americans the need for expanded governmental action and the necessity for redress of economic grievances.

University of Maryland

PAUL W. GLAD

LABOR AND THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN NEW YORK STATE,
1897-1916. By *Irwin Yellowitz*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press.
1965. Pp. ix, 288. \$6.50.)

IRWIN Yellowitz has written a careful, detailed study of involvement and impotence. Contrary to the prevailing view, he argues, organized labor in New York devoted considerable energy to politics during the progressive era, but contrary to their bright hopes, union leaders acquired a most meager influence. Dividing his book into two parts, he first analyzes the means to power and their uses. Here the "social Progressives," a small, dedicated group of greater prestige and security than the wage earners, occupy as much space as labor's spokesmen, for these middle-class crusaders proved more persistent and somewhat more effective advocates of industrial reform. Still, the total of the two forces was not impressive. Both lacked funds and followers, and neither mastered the art of co-operating with the other: unionists and social progressives always differed in outlook and often in particular objectives as well. Consequently, they seldom received the laws they demanded, and they struggled ceaselessly to hold what little they had gained. The second part of the book applies these weaknesses to party politics. Now concentrating upon organized labor's own agencies, Yellowitz

documents their inability either to marshal voters or to influence the major parties. And in a telling contrast, he describes how the shrewd, continuous mass appeals of William Randolph Hearst actually did change a significant number of labor votes between 1905 and 1909.

In one sense, this volume belongs with those nominalistic studies of progressivism which have recently enjoyed such popularity. Like Richard Abrams, J. Joseph Huthmacher, and Daniel Levine, Yellowitz is impressed primarily by the progressives' variety. He frames his study in these terms and emphasizes them throughout, especially when he is calculating the social distance between a comfortable middle class and the union executives. Yet compared with previous reformers, those of the early twentieth century demonstrated an exceptional capacity to cooperate. Perhaps that fact deserves as much attention as their heterogeneity and divisiveness.

In another sense, this study continues one of the oldest traditions in progressive historiography: the omnipotence of public opinion. Yellowitz repeatedly attributes the success or failure of a reform to mysterious shifts in "mood" or "spirit." In part, that merely reflects the natural restrictions of a monograph. Nevertheless, the author's analytic scheme requires just such a *deus ex machina*. By minimizing the reformers' influence within a context of hard, measurable power, he sweeps the field of practically all concrete causes for the many bills that did pass. Then—enter public opinion. Certainly Yellowitz has not exhausted the alternative routes to power. He has, however, prepared a firm base for subsequent explorations.

Northwestern University

ROBERT WIEBE

HOSTAGES OF FORTUNE: CHILD LABOR REFORM IN NEW YORK STATE. By *Jeremy P. Felt*. ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 276. \$6.95.)

THE use and abuse of child workers have been important factors in America's industrial development from the founding of cotton mills in the 1790's to the twentieth century. *Hostages of Fortune* is a monograph that deals with the exploitation of children in New York's factories, mercantile establishments, and farms from the late nineteenth century to the present. It is an unabated tale of sorrow, squalor, and disaster.

Youngsters made artificial flowers, packed feathers, rolled cigars, turned paper collars, delivered newspapers and messages, carried heavy crates of beans and corn, stitched clothing together in tenement apartments transformed into domestic manufacturing establishments. With the eye of an Upton Sinclair, Professor Felt has uncovered stories of children falling from tenement fire escapes, delivery boys frozen to death in the rear of wagons, messenger boys roaming around whorehouses, teen-agers scalded to death in vats of boiling oil or ripped apart by power saws or dough mixers. A dominant tone of the work is evident in the statement that "children as young as three continued to work making such things as dance programs that dangled from the wrists of debutantes . . ." If anyone was as yet unsure of the inherent evils of child labor, this book will certainly convince him.

The New York Child Labor Committee (1902-1941) was created in response to these conditions of human degradation. A relatively small reform organization with a severely limited budget, the NYCLC nonetheless seemed to have spearheaded the movement for child labor reform in the state. Its major focus was legislative, and the NYCLC helped draft and lobby for acts that eliminated child labor from certain dangerous occupations, created compulsory continuation schools, established the tradition of the use of employment certificates and health examinations for working youngsters, granted double compensation for injuries sustained on the job, and so on. Felt maintains that the agency was largely responsible for some forty laws regulating child labor in the state. Unfortunately, as his book clearly demonstrates, there was often quite a disparity between the passage of an act and its implementation. Niggardly legislatures were sometimes willing to create administrative agencies, but were often unwilling to finance them properly.

The major weakness of *Hostages of Fortune* is its failure to be analytical. Was it, for example, a sign of parental irresponsibility or a matter of economic survival that forced parents to devise tactics to side-step the laws American reformers believed so important? A closer look at working-class budgets would have easily resolved that important question. More detailed analyses of the ethnic affiliations and social values of different working-class youngsters would also have been helpful. Did Jews, Italians, and Greeks all respond in a similar manner to the problems of child labor? I suspect not. Finally, I think it obligatory for the author to have struggled with the key question of the significance of the NYCLC in the entire child labor reform movement. He claims its primacy, but, in my opinion, does not prove it.

University of Illinois, Chicago

GILBERT OSOFSKY

WOODROW WILSON, REFORM GOVERNOR: A DOCUMENTARY NARRATIVE. By *David W. Hirst*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Supplementary Volume.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1965. Pp. xv, 256. \$4.95.)

ORGANIZED LABOR IN NEW JERSEY. By *Leo Troy*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Supplementary Volume.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1965. Pp. xvii, 237. \$5.95.)

THE PEOPLE OF NEW JERSEY. By *Rudolph J. Vecoli*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Supplementary Volume.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1965. Pp. xv, 299. \$6.95.)

THESE volumes are supplements, the concluding volumes of "The New Jersey Historical Series" (see *AHR*, LXX [Apr. 1965], 803; LXXI [Oct. 1965], 295). Though supplements, they are concerned with major developments in the evolution of the state and the nation as well. Woodrow Wilson's career as governor marked a major event in the progressive era, much of the more recent labor history of the state was a landmark in the New Deal, and for many of the three hundred years of New Jersey's history, the "foreigner" has been prominent in its social growth and an issue in its politics.

Hirst, as associate editor of *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, has lived with Wilson's own words. He has chosen to construct a history of his governorship largely from Wilson's writings. As the governor was a master of language and could put it to eloquent use, the volume is inspiring, even charismatic. Here are elegantly phrased letters, eloquent speeches, and concise and persuasive state papers worked into a narrative.

This work will carry on the Wilson legend, for it is written in his vocabulary. It is a very skillfully constructed pastiche, and its designer deserves high praise for his ingenuity. But it suggests a timely caution. The Wilsonian legend is fast reaching a point where it is hardening into a mold that will be increasingly difficult to alter. Yet it must be remembered that Wilson failed in the law, that he was not reappointed to the faculty at Bryn Mawr. His future at Princeton was uncertain in 1910. To a prominent Democratic "boss" in New Jersey he was "an ingrate and a liar." After his spectacular first year as governor of New Jersey, his success in Trenton was not notable. He suffered a most humiliating defeat in his fight for the League of Nations. It is the present custom to gloss over this ill fortune and to cast over it the cloak of the saint and martyr. But leaders are complex people, and an understanding of them is not helped by sculpting images too simple.

Troy has undertaken to handle a controversial issue that is "hot." For many years the history of labor organization in New Jersey was miscellaneous and not too significant. Despite its industrial precocity, the state was not good ground for labor organization for a long time. After the coming of the New Deal, however, it began to be the scene of a very notable series of maneuvers in the effort to perfect the AFL-CIO merger, and in the meantime the "great gain made by New Jersey unions between 1939 and 1953 made the state one of the most highly organized in the nation."

This was a difficult book to write, and certain labor interests are not satisfied with it. The early portion deals with scattered events for which there are not many records. The latter pages cover a bitter controversy, and it will be long before the returns will all be in. The author has striven courageously to be fair and has made a very commendable attempt to be scholarly. His account of the age of controversy with which he deals must of necessity be looked upon as a convenient preliminary report which his successors will find extremely useful.

The third of these supplements deals with one of New Jersey's most significant characteristics: the great ethnic variety of its population. From the beginning of its settlement the colony attracted a polyglot people, and the trend has persisted from the days of the Swedes, Dutch, and English to the latest planeload of Hungarian refugees. The cumulation of racial groups has been a principal determinant of many phases of the state's evolution, but, most spectacularly, in the realm of labor and political history. This book therefore supplements Troy's work and fills the gap left by the lack of an extended coverage of political history.

Vecoli's volume is a convenient reminder of the necessity for basic knowledge of local history if the real nature of the American character is to be known. Often these ethnic groups have formed communities within communities and have introduced an element of complexity into the state's evolution that belies some of the glib generalities of national historians. The story leaves a paradox to be pondered,

namely, that while this land of freedom and opportunity has provided so much of both, at the same time it has produced bigotry, exploitation, and persecution. The work ends with a proper warning that in the current civil rights struggle New Jersey's democratic society is "confronted with its most severe test." If the citizens of the state give thoughtful consideration to what is presented in the thirty volumes of this series, now concluded, they can learn much to enable them successfully to meet the test.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

JIM CROW'S DEFENSE: ANTI-NEGRO THOUGHT IN AMERICA, 1900-1930. By *I. A. Newby*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 230. \$6.50.)

THIS meticulous study of anti-Negro thought in the United States during years when Americans were increasingly proud of the thoroughness and detachment of their scientific and scholarly research is more useful than it first appears to be. The historian more or less familiar with the pattern of race relations in the post-Civil War era is likely to assume that he knows the basic facts of the situation after the turn of the century. Depending upon the degree of his saturation in the readily available source materials, he may think of the first decades of the twentieth century as a period in which racial segregation spread from South to North without any serious attempts to find philosophical justification for the change. If that be his view, he will do well to examine Mr. Newby's findings. For Newby's pages are packed with quotations from churchmen, anthropologists, journalists, politicians with personal axes to grind, and historians ostensibly concerned only with demonstrable facts, who all solemnly, or vituperatively, spell out their conclusions about the Negroes' innate mental disabilities or bestiality. The sheer volume of the writings and speeches that Newby draws upon is staggering, and infinitely repetitive. Indeed for the student thoroughly conversant with the popular and not so popular literature on the "Negro question" of the 1900-1930 period, much of the text becomes a piling of Pelion upon Ossa.

Whether or not that be petty faultfinding, I object to a style that makes it virtually impossible to differentiate the passages in which the author is paraphrasing the comments of the writers and speakers whom he cites from the paragraphs where he indulges in his own interpretation. In spots he appears to be offering unwarranted conclusions of his own. Of the 1920's he says, for example, that "the migration of Negroes to the North . . . promoted integration in the federal government in Washington," and later he mentions southerners' angry responses to "the integration of federal employees in Washington." The segregation that had spread through government departments in Washington during the Wilson administration was so firmly entrenched in 1927 that it was practically a national policy and underwent such trivial modification during the election year of 1928 as to be imperceptible. No real change, Congressman Oscar DePriest notwithstanding, occurred until 1935. If Newby is quoting from apprehensive southerners he should make it clear that this was merely the opinion of ill-informed people at a distance.

At best the book makes painful reading for a scholar of any stripe. Newby has

produced a study that will enlighten and warn, but certainly can give no pleasure to any thoughtful person.

Washington, D. C.

CONSTANCE McLAUGHLIN GREEN

THE GREAT DEPARTURE: THE UNITED STATES AND WORLD WAR I, 1914-1920. By *Daniel M. Smith*. [America in Crisis.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1965. Pp. xiii, 221. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

THIS volume examines a well-covered subject, but from knowledge of the unpublished materials. Scholars have looked long at the diplomacy of the First World War; surely no story is as well known as the defeat of the League of Nations by the Senate and President Wilson. Daniel Smith has gone to the manuscript sources and thereby brings novelty to this timeworn narrative. He has used Department of State records in the National Archives, the Chandler Anderson Diary, the House Diary, the Lansing Desk Diary and unpublished memorandums, and the Polk, Wilson, and other personal papers. He has close knowledge of the published materials, books and articles, and he has not ignored the work of others.

Organization is topical and chronological, so that the inquiring student can grasp the general chronology and the broad, controversial topics that sometimes ran through several years. After discussion of the beginning of the Great War the book deals with causes of American entrance: national interest, trade and the blockade, the U-boats, and mediation. There follows a clever analysis of President Wilson's moral leadership of the world, which the author rightly says was too high in sentiment. Chapters consider formation of the Covenant, the Russian problem at the Peace Conference, and defeat of the treaty in the United States. Smith goes easy on Wilson, credits Lansing with perspicacity, writes off Root as an ultraconservative, and believes House showed statesmanship.

If the book holds no great surprises, it has no special pleading or weird interpretation. Its extraordinary balance—the last overworked word is accurate here—is a credit to its author, and also to Robert A. Divine who is the editor of this clever series on “eight critical periods relating to American involvement in foreign war from the Revolution through the Cold War.”

Indiana University

ROBERT H. FERRELL

THE URBAN NATION, 1920-1960. By *George E. Mowry*. [The Making of America.] (New York: Hill and Wang. 1965. Pp. x, 278. \$5.00.)

THIS is a smoothly constructed and interesting summary of American life since World War I. It suffers from having to cover too much in too little space, but, with discipline and economy of language, the author tells an amazingly thorough story. Being committed to deal at once with culture and economics, politics and foreign policy, Dean Mowry has been forced to hard decisions regarding coverage. Generally, culture has suffered in the cutting, and the conventional emphasis on politics and economics remains.

But, if the nature of Mowry's assignment has led him to deal quickly with some things and not at all with others, it has not driven him to superficiality, dullness, or inaccuracy. *The Urban Nation* displays consistently the care with fact

and phrase that are Mowry's good habit. And, when he must turn to impressionism, his "impressions" are firmly pinned to specific examples. The book is much more than the ordinary trite summary; it provides throughout a series of thoughtful interpretations that make the story both lively and provocative. These tend, in some cases, to be more tentative than definitive, although there is nothing particularly wild here, and Mowry clothes most of his suggestions in modest garb.

If there is a major criticism, it is, perhaps, that the author persists too much in pushing his material to the matrix of the theme his title suggests. Few, of course, will question the proposition that urbanism has been a major force since 1920. The concept of urban-rural conflict has proven extremely useful in the business of grafting logic and order upon recent American history. Yet the matter can be overdone, and at points throughout this volume one feels the strain involved when any single force or situation must be made to provide the principal energy for all phenomena.

Seasoned scholars will find little that is new here: many textbooks provide more of the introductory facts, and there are monographs and biographies, based upon independent search of the primary sources, that speak with more authority and more detail. Yet this is a very useful and admirable book. It places the era in a sure perspective born of Mowry's lifelong studies in recent history. It summarizes the scholarship on the era soundly and interestingly for the general reader and introductory student. The sallies at new interpretation make it a book to think about; the graceful, vigorous style makes it a book to enjoy. Mowry's descriptions are not easily forgotten; Henry Ford, for example, appears as a "briary sort of person." And most general readers will find it difficult to ignore propositions like these: that the "New Deal . . . killed itself with its own practical successes . . ."; that Herbert Hoover in 1932 may have driven the New Deal farther Left than it would otherwise have gone by "drawing a fixed line" between himself and FDR "where there was in reality little to mark . . ."; that the KKK was, to an important extent, the product of rural-urban conflict; that Al Smith was really a "conservative."

It is unfortunate that there are no footnotes to make clear the precise source of the interpretations Mowry provides or the extent of the historiographical arguments over some of the matters he has been forced to describe briefly. But selective bibliographies suggest the general nature of the literature.

State University of New York, Binghamton

ALFRED B. ROLLINS, JR.

PROTEST: SACCO-VANZETTI AND THE INTELLECTUALS. By *David Felix*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1965. Pp. 274. \$5.95.)

Mr. Felix' thesis is that the intellectuals were wrong about the case, but that the case was right for them: wrong, because he believes the legal proceedings were fair and the defendants guilty; right, because the case proved a rallying point that gave the intellectuals needed cohesion and valuable experience. In elaborating these conclusions the author ranges over a wide area with clarity, vividness, and apparent lack of bias. For a reader unfamiliar with the case the book is a colorful presentation and discusses all the contentions, but he should be on his guard about the author's conclusions.

In reaching these conclusions, Felix gives the prosecution the benefit of every

doubt and accepts ballistic tests never subjected to cross-examination. His method is, perhaps, best illustrated by his treatment of the Proctor episode which had aroused Felix Frankfurter's indignation. Proctor was one of two ballistic experts called by the prosecution, and he testified that the bullet was "consistent" with having been fired by Sacco's pistol. That, of course, was indisputable since the pistol was a Colt, and the markings on the bullet showed that it had been fired through a Colt. After the trial Proctor gave the defense an affidavit in which he stated that he had "repeatedly" told the district attorney and his assistant that he could find no evidence that the bullet had in fact been fired by the Sacco pistol and that it had been arranged that he would not be asked that question. The affidavits of the prosecutors did no more than deny that this subject had been discussed "repeatedly." But one of them admitted that Proctor had told him that he could not tell through which pistol the bullet had been fired. That information was, of course, not transmitted to the defense at the trial. The defense had not cross-examined, fearful that they might have elicited more harmful testimony. Before the Lowell Committee one of the lawyers testified that he had understood Proctor as having meant that the bullet had come through Sacco's pistol. And some of the contemporary press reports indicate the same confusion. Even Judge Thayer, in his charge, linked the two state's experts without any distinction. Now Felix first says that Proctor admitted having perjured himself. He then states: "the man simply lacked the ballistic knowledge to testify to more than he did." But he was produced by the prosecution as fully qualified. He then quotes the assistant prosecutor, Williams, as saying that he was not competent to testify and did not know how to make the necessary tests. And he impugns Proctor's motives. Thus Felix concludes: "the affidavit offers too little substance for serious regard"!

Felix rejects the recent theory that only Sacco was guilty because in his view Vanzetti was the more dominant character and his expressions were more violent than Sacco's.

It is more difficult to evaluate Felix' strictures on the "intellectuals." There is no doubt that people so characterized are often much swayed by emotion. But, as he recognizes at the end of the book, action based on unquestioning belief is essential in all struggles.

New York, New York

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL

FARM TO FACTORY: A HISTORY OF THE CONSUMERS COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION. By *Gilbert C. Fite*. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 288. \$6.00.)

IN 1929 Howard A. Cowden established the Union Oil Company, a cooperative wholesale supply company based in Kansas City. The new company's capital was but a few thousand dollars; only six cooperatives subscribed initially to its stock; the first headquarters was a renovated two-car garage. By 1964 the cooperative, now named the Consumers Cooperative Association, was affiliated with 1,791 cooperatives, representing 450,000 farm families. In that year it handled \$249,000,000 worth of merchandise. Through 1963 the CCA earned consumer savings of almost \$122,000,000 and accumulated some \$168,000,000 worth of assets. The or-

ganization or its subsidiaries owned oil wells, pipelines, refineries, fertilizer plants, and feed mills, and was also processing poultry and livestock.

Much of the success of the CCA was attributable to the leadership of Cowden who gained his early experience in the ranks of the Missouri Farmers Association. As a cooperative leader he was "colorful, dynamic, imaginative, courageous, articulate, and wholly dedicated to the principles of cooperation." But the depression years encouraged the farmer to seek savings wherever possible in his buying and forced refineries to sell even to cooperative outlets. The depression also induced Congress to establish a helpful credit system for cooperatives. The decision to do business on a cash basis in 1937, the determination of the CCA leaders to build an oil refinery, and their decisions to begin the production of feeds and fertilizers were crucial in the association's history.

In part the CCA expanded by withholding patronage dividends and by selling shares, in part by borrowing from the federal cooperative banks. Usually the cooperative was grossly undercapitalized, and the auditors were particularly distressed by the balance sheets of the early 1950's. Financing problems climaxed in the mid-1950's when Cowden and his colleagues determined to build a nitrogen fixation plant despite an acute shortage of credit. This crisis forced rigorous economies upon the CCA, but laid the foundation for additional growth after the development loans of this period were repaid. CCA leaders tried constantly to increase and to arm their patrons by vigorous educational efforts in behalf of "the middle way" of the cooperator, and they applied political pressure whenever needed to protect the special status of cooperatives against the onslaughts of private business.

Historians typically have written about the politics of agriculture. Of the farm business itself, of the suppliers and of the intermediaries between farmer and consumer, we know much too little as yet. Professor Fite's book, therefore, is especially welcome. It is also lucid, well organized, and marked by questioning thoughtfulness, a rare quality in books subsidized by the firms concerned. In writing this study, the author also chose a "middle way" by including numerous statistics of capital growth, earnings, and the like, while avoiding charts and graphs and the kind of analysis that a business economist might produce. However we may regard his decision, we can be grateful for a book that will remain a standard item in the agricultural bibliographies for many years to come.

University of Wisconsin

ALLAN G. BOGUE

LA GUARDIA COMES TO POWER: 1933. By *Arthur Mann*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1965. Pp. 199. \$3.95.)

In this volume Professor Mann skillfully dissects and then reweaves "the complexity and range of variables" that accounted for Fiorello La Guardia's election as mayor of New York City in 1933. Important to that narrative are the Seabury investigations' airing of Tammany corruption under Jimmy Walker's administration; the utter stupidity of the Tammany bosses who then insisted on running the dullard John P. O'Brien as the organization candidate to replace the disgraced Walker; La Guardia's battle to win support among the well-to-do, WASPish directors of the Fusion movement, many of whom were repulsed by the "crude,

brawling, loud-mouthed" former congressman, but most of whom ultimately yielded to Judge Samuel Seabury's espousal of the Little Flower's cause; Joseph V. McKee's belated entry into the campaign as a reform Democrat running under a Recovery party label, at the urging of a Franklin Roosevelt who thereafter left the hapless McKee to swim or sink as best he could; and finally the slam-bang, no-holds-barred appeal to the electorate in which *La Guardia* bested both his pitiful (O'Brien) and pitiable (McKee) opponents.

Mann writes with clarity, cogency, good humor, and a relaxed manner that charms while it convinces the reader. From the outset he refers to Bronx Democratic leader Edward J. Flynn familiarly as "Ed Flynn"; Edward J. Corsi easily becomes "Ed Corsi"; the book's main character frequently is referred to simply as "Fiorello," whose style was one of "razzmatazz," and who "returned to his desk after a lunch that was something of a munch." Whorehouses are "whorehouses," not houses of ill repute. Fortunately, Mann has editors and a publisher who allow such usages to stand; some, more traditional and stuffy, would be inclined to strike out such "inelegancies." This is not the whole of it, of course, but their liberality does help account for Mann's success in meeting his objective of writing *La Guardia's* biography "as literature."

The author's facility in analyzing and using election and census data, moreover, should pass muster with even the most demanding behaviorist. His figures help demonstrate conclusively that *La Guardia's* 1933 victory rested on "a crazy-quilt coalition" made up of: most of New York City's regular Republicans; many reform-minded Democrats and Socialists; a large proportion of those middle- and upper-income level Jews who had imbibed the Protestant ethic, American creed, middle-class morality of civic consciousness; and the overwhelming majority of the city's Italian-Americans, who were hungry for political recognition whether it came by means of a Mussolini or a *La Guardia*.

The conclusion is that the *La Guardia-Fusion* victory was propelled primarily (with the exception of the Italian vote) by the same kind of middle- and upper-class revolt against bossism and scandal that had generated most civic reform movements in New York City and elsewhere in the past. New York's lower economic classes regardless of ethnic or religious differentiation (again with the exception of the Italians) remained the most loyal to Tammany and O'Brien. The urban proletariat seemed to prefer the assurance and substance of Tammany's long-established neighborhood welfare state to a visionary one whose prophet appeared to be the darling of silk-stockings and "Goo Goo" elements.

And so the Little Flower entered city hall more the champion of those who espoused "throwing the rascals out" than of those who espoused social justice programs. We can feel confident that Mann's literary flair will provide us with a brisk and perceptive third volume that will tell us what happened thereafter.

Georgetown University

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

NEW DEAL MOSAIC: ROOSEVELT CONFERS WITH HIS NATIONAL EMERGENCY COUNCIL, 1933-1936. Edited by *Lester G. Seligman* and *Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr.* (Eugene: University of Oregon Books. 1965. Pp. xxix, 578. \$10.00.)

THE National Emergency Council was created by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on November 17, 1933, primarily to serve as an advisory body to the Presi-

dent and to coordinate the policies and activities of the mushrooming agencies of the executive branch of the federal government. Including among its membership the heads or representatives of some of the established administrative units as well as of the new recovery organizations, the NEC eventually assumed the functions of the Special Industrial Recovery Board, which had been established to oversee the operations of the National Recovery Administration, and absorbed the Executive Council, which had been serving since 1933 as an "enlarged cabinet." The NEC was not officially abolished until July 1, 1939, but it appears to have existed in name only for some years prior to that date.

Transcripts of the proceedings of the thirty-one meetings of the NEC held between December 19, 1933, and April 28, 1936, are available in the National Archives, and it is these transcripts that Professors Seligman and Cornwell have reproduced in this volume. They have also provided their readers with an introduction that analyzes the structure, functions, and activities of the NEC, appropriate footnotes and biographical notes, an index of subjects, and prefatory notes to the transcripts of each meeting that point up the significance of that session.

The NEC transcripts are chiefly valuable for the glimpses that they give us of Roosevelt in private conversation with his government associates. The President commented interestingly at these meetings on several of the New Deal activities, counseled those present on congressional relations and the proper manner of fielding questions at press conferences, and made evident his concern with the public reaction to New Deal programs and his desire that these programs be explained to the electorate in an understandable manner.

Although they provide some information on President Roosevelt, the transcripts tell us much less than one might have expected about the substance of the New Deal itself. The discussion ranged over a variety of New Deal activities, but rarely was a subject considered in any real depth or the ramifications of a problem thoroughly explored. Too much of the time of very busy men was all too often being devoted to problems that, in retrospect at any event, seem rather trivial.

The NEC provided a mechanism by which the President kept himself informed about what was going on in the executive branch of the federal government and by which those in attendance were made aware that the New Deal was not confined to the operation of their particular agencies. It initiated the policy of central clearance for legislative proposals originating in the executive branch, but it was not particularly successful as either a policy-making or a coordinating body. As the number of those present at the meetings increased (there were fourteen present at the first meeting, thirty-six at the last), the discussion became increasingly unwieldy. It became standard practice for the President to read portions of the executive director's summary of the agency reports prepared for the meeting and then to make comments or ask questions about what he had read. The record of this procedure leaves little doubt of the President's extensive knowledge of the affairs of government, but it frequently makes for very dull reading. The editors could have improved their book by a liberal use of the ellipsis.

THE ARDENNES: BATTLE OF THE BULGE. By *Hugh M. Cole*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The European Theater of Operations.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1965. Pp. xxii, 720. \$7.50.)

HERE is the long-awaited volume on the Battle of the Bulge, and it was worth the waiting. Hugh Cole has the eye for detail and the sense of perspective needed to give meaning to the almost incredible complexities of the campaign in the Ardennes. The general reader may at times feel overwhelmed by the details, but if he follows closely and makes full use of the excellent maps attached, he will find himself involved in one fascinating story after another.

The conception of such a counteroffensive and the selection of the Ardennes as the area for launching it are attributed to Hitler alone. Planning for execution of the offensive was the responsibility of the chief of the *Wehrmacht* Operations Staff, Jodl. Rundstedt was in command of German forces in the west, "but Hitler alone commanded," while Model was the field commander most directly concerned with operations in the Ardennes.

Cole devotes eighty-two pages to background information on plans and preparations, units and commanders. One of the most perplexing and most discussed features of the whole campaign, of course, is the failure of Allied intelligence to anticipate it. As in the case of Pearl Harbor and other classic lapses in American intelligence, it can be shown that much critical information was known—by someone—but it was not brought together and interpreted in a way to give a true picture.

The German objective was Antwerp, and the politically oriented Sixth Panzer Army, operating on the north wing, was to make the main effort, crossing the Meuse on both sides of Liège, striking northward for the Albert Canal, and then forming a front extending from Maastricht to Antwerp. The account here is the story of how that design was frustrated in the snows of the Ardennes by heroic defenses and counterattacks on every side.

The greatest disappointment of the volume is its terminal date, January 3, 1945. The great Allied offensive for the Rhineland began with the Canadian attack on February 8 and with the attacks of the American Ninth and First Armies on February 23. The War Department recognizes January 25 as the close of the Ardennes campaign; the last village remaining in German hands west of the Our River was recaptured on January 27, and only then could it be said that the Bulge had been completely eliminated. Dramatic and significant as the opening phase of the Ardennes campaign was, the drama and the significance, and the casualties and losses of matériel on both sides, were about as great after the terminal date here chosen as before.

A large volume has been devoted to a history of the first two and one-half weeks of the Ardennes campaign; we are told that the remaining three and one-half weeks of that campaign will be covered in a later volume, together with the six-week campaign in the Rhineland, involving all the active armies, and the six-week campaign across Germany, including the encirclement of the Ruhr and the link up on the Elbe. It is a great pity indeed that we cannot look forward to a

second volume to complete the detailed account of the Ardennes campaign here so ably begun.

Purdue University

JAMES A. HUSTON

E. R. STETTINIUS, JR. By *Richard L. Walker*. JAMES F. BYRNES. By *George Curry*. [The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy, Volume XIV.] (New York: Cooper Square Publishers. 1965. Pp. x, 423. \$8.50.)

In its straightforward narrative and careful scholarship, this volume continues the high standard of the distinguished series of which it is a part, though more careful proofreading would have eliminated an appreciable number of mechanical errors. The Secretaries with whose work it deals served between Cordell Hull and George Marshall. The four aptly illustrate the recruitment process that often places widely variant talents and minimal technical experience in the highest cabinet post. Stettinius and Byrnes came from widely divergent backgrounds of wealth and poverty, business and politics, administrative and negotiating skills, amiable idealism and tough realism. Different, too, was the former's willingly subordinate service under an experienced and supremely self-confident chief executive from the latter's aim to influence as well as implement the decisions of a President who, learning his trade as he practiced it, aspired to match his predecessor's *expertise*. They shared a restless energy and enthusiasm for work, and each exemplified during his tenure that absenteeism from his desk which would become institutionalized under John Foster Dulles. Finally, both served while the ending and partial liquidation of World War II overshadowed but did not entirely obscure the growing disharmony that bred a conflict colder but no less real.

Professor Walker's sketch, brief, as was Stettinius' seven-month incumbency, portrays the background of big business and social-mindedness that prepared him only modestly for the successive posts of Undersecretary and Secretary of State. The author shows him but partially successful in reorganizing the department, as peripherally involved in Yalta's events, and as prominently and overoptimistically active in the San Francisco Conference which framed the United Nations Charter. He emerges as a man of immense good will, less than adequately perceptive of and hardly equal to the problems of his day.

Free access to personal papers (not available in the case of Stettinius) and association as research assistant during the preparation of *All in One Lifetime* have contributed to Curry's more fully rounded picture of Byrnes as a moderately successful practitioner during the development of early cold war pressures. He receives approval for keeping the Potsdam Conference from "dissolving in rancorous confusion" and for his contribution to the Foreign Service Act of 1946, the first significant legislation in this area since the Rogers Act of 1924. His principal specific activity was in the months of tedious dialogue producing peace treaties with the minor enemy powers, in which he held Russian advantages to a minimum. Somewhat less tangible but hardly less important, his Stuttgart speech offered Europe much-needed assurance, and his awareness of the need to aid Greece and Turkey (perceived as early as September 1946) clearly adumbrated the Truman Doctrine. The account of personal relationships, favorable to Byrnes

in both the Wallace incident and the break with the President, is one of the most illuminating parts of the study, arguing persuasively the author's contention that the two parted company over domestic rather than foreign policy considerations and that the presidential memoirs fall short of complete accuracy.

Seton Hall University

L. ETHAN ELLIS

DAY OF TRINITY. By *Lansing Lamont*. (New York: Atheneum. 1965. Pp. xi, 333. \$6.95.)

LANSING Lamont, a Washington correspondent for *Time*, wrote this book "in the hope of giving general readers for the first time a full and understandable account of . . . the explosion of the first atomic bomb." His aim was "a story of men and women and what they went through to build and test the weapon," not "a scientific primer on the atomic age." General readers—and historians—can gain from his narrative an extended treatment of the July 1945 test at Trinity and of the Los Alamos laboratory in the manner of Walter Lord and Jim Bishop, more explicit reference to implosion bomb components than in previous accounts, and insight into the significance of the Fuchs and Greenglass espionage.

Despite these contributions, Lamont's hope for a full and understandable account has not materialized. Dramatic necessity justified summary treatment but not inaccuracy in describing those aspects of the bomb project not centered at Los Alamos. The Columbia-Minnesota experiments (not Minnesota alone) reported in the spring of 1940 did not show that enough U 235 "in one weapon could make an atomic bomb decisive in war." That awaited an understanding of the susceptibility of U 235 to fission by fast neutrons. This is the key, which Lamont ignores, to the long delay in appreciating the military potential of uranium. Nor is the story of the Los Alamos effort full or even understandable without reference to the discovery in July 1944 that the plutonium 240 concentration in Hanford plutonium ruled out a plutonium gun and made it necessary to perfect implosion. Lamont is so unaware that he says there was "less chance of predetonation" with plutonium; the opposite was precisely the difficulty. And how is the reader to understand when the Trinity device is a "hulking sphere" on page eight but of "teardrop dimensions" on page eleven? Or when he learns that experimental piles (square columns of graphite and uranium) "mounted like pyramids," that the first samples of experimental plutonium came from Hanford instead of Oak Ridge, and that a barrage balloon at Trinity was filled with "inflammable helium"?

Lamont does better with nontechnical subjects, but even here he uses sources uncritically and makes unnecessary errors. The creation of the Office of Scientific Research and Development in June 1941 was not due solely or even primarily to Vannevar Bush's impatience with the Advisory Committee on Uranium. When Truman told Stalin at Potsdam that the United States had a new weapon of unusual destructive force, he said nothing about the bomb's postwar role. This was a conscious decision, described fully elsewhere; Truman was not "too nonplused by the Premier's response to do so."

Lamont writes well in the last chapter, as a reporter. When he attempts history, he appeals to the taste of the general reader with a curious, careless cynicism.

Scientists watch "the fruit of their labors shatter the dawn above Trinity and usher in the nuclear age," and Oppenheimer welcomes "the steel in Groves that could forge a measure of discipline" at Los Alamos. In Lamont's souped-up prose, the youthful Oppenheimer prefers "Baudelaire to baseball, Gibbon to girls"; later he moves with the confidence of an "inbred politician." Los Alamos wives become "mothers of the mesa," Geiger counters go "berserk," and scientific equipment is invariably "weird." David Greenglass is Sergeant Jercinovic's "bunk-mate" (really?), and the main latrine at Trinity is designed "to accommodate 200 bladders" (so specialized?). Los Alamos scientists generally sire weapons and father ages, but Oppenheimer "suckled from birth" the implosion bomb. Inept and overwrought, *Day of Trinity* will weary even the general reader.

Bethesda, Maryland

OSCAR E. ANDERSON, JR.

VIETNAM: A DIPLOMATIC TRAGEDY. THE ORIGINS OF THE UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT. By *Victor Bator*. (Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.: Oceana Publications. 1965. Pp. xv, 271. \$7.50.)

FUTURE historians will have a hard time disentangling the tale of our gradual involvement in Vietnam. For the facts appear but dimly beneath a veil woven of untruths, half-truths, and rationalizations. What the spokesman for our mission in Saigon according to *Newsweek* of August 2, 1965, stated for himself has become a general principle of our statecraft: "My directive says that our policy is one of minimum candor." Thus the correspondents who keep a record of the truth against which official statements can be judged perform a public service of a high order.

Mr. Bator performs a public service of a similarly high order, but of a different kind. He is concerned with the diplomatic history that led to our military involvement in Vietnam. He asks: how did we get involved in Vietnam? He answers: through the Eisenhower-Dulles foreign policy. That answer emerges from the diplomatic record on which Bator's argumentation is based. I know of no more convincing demonstration of the extent to which our present policy in Vietnam is rooted in the philosophy and diplomacy of Dulles. The record, as cited by Bator, paints a frightening picture of the intellectual and moral qualities of that philosophy and diplomacy. At the time, the leaders of the Democratic party declared Dulles' Vietnam policy to be "a diplomatic disaster," and Senator Lyndon Johnson joined in the condemnation. Yet it is from that very same policy that President Lyndon Johnson now feels compelled to draw the ultimate logical conclusions.

Bator's book is an example of diplomatic history at its best. His use of the sources—official documents, newspaper accounts, memoirs, scholarly works—is impeccable. The book is brilliantly written and holds the attention of the reader almost like a novel. It is also permeated with a deep understanding of what foreign policy is all about. It is that understanding which gives weight to the evidence and makes the indictment irrefutable.

University of Chicago

HANS J. MORGENTHAU

THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT 1964. By *Theodore H. White*. (New York: Atheneum Publishers. 1965. Pp. xi, 431. \$6.95.)

THE 1964 campaign was intolerably dull at the time, an autumnlong bombardment of fustian of apparently little meaning, leading to a foregone conclusion. There was little of the drama that Theodore H. White caught so well in *The Making of the President 1960*. Sequels usually suffer, but White, despite his apparent handicaps, has improved upon his previous volume; it is surprising how interesting and significant the 1964 election becomes in his recapitulation and appraisal. White has again demonstrated how dispassionate an account can be written of quite recent happenings. Historians may well profit from his proof that events do not have to be long dead and no longer germane before they are susceptible to meaningful analysis. Even though White, writing only months after the fact, has arrived at what can be considered only as a trial balance, he has produced one so lucid that it may well be standard for years.

Perhaps it was the very lack of a close race or the drama of the Kennedy-Nixon television confrontation that has led to the especial excellence of this study. White has been forced to concentrate upon the broader context of the election: foreign policy, social and economic issues, and especially the Negro revolution. He has searched backward into the Kennedy administration to enumerate its substantial legislative and ideological contributions. It was there that the attention of the public was focused upon new issues and that an emphasis began upon achieving qualitative as well as quantitative advances in the American way of life. He has explored the contrast in personality between President Kennedy and Vice-President Johnson. Indeed, White publishes as an appendix a memorandum by Philip Graham of the *Washington Post* that adds fuel to the recently revived controversy over Kennedy's selection of Johnson as his running mate. More to the point is a candid section on the first painful months of the Johnson administration when the new President pushed the Kennedy measures through Congress and gradually devised a program of his own, the Great Society. All this is pretty much by way of prelude to the primaries, nominating conventions, and campaigning in 1964, and the prelude overshadows the campaign.

The disarming charm and bumbling conservatism that Senator Barry Goldwater demonstrated in the New Hampshire primary and thereafter, the very personal story of Governor Nelson Rockefeller's political debacle, the failure of a disapproving Eisenhower to lead an effective "stop-Goldwater" movement, and all of the other Republican vicissitudes of the spring of 1964 have never been better told. But they are wearing even in recapitulation. The manner in which the Goldwater militants seized and retained Republican command is told in full detail and is instructive for the future. President Johnson's lengthy, deliberate selection of a vice-presidential candidate, perhaps to pay back old scores as much as to provide a bit of excitement and more headlines for the Democrats, is also a too familiar story. Even more so, the campaign is an anticlimax.

Two vitally differing ideologies, that of the Great Society and of the Goldwater conservatives, never reached a real confrontation in the campaign. Johnson and his able political lieutenants saw to that. Their purpose was to win and win spectacularly, not to stage a great debate. The concept of the Great Society was

cogently presented to the voters; it was that of the conservatives, White feels, that did not receive an effective airing. He reminds his readers of not only the contrast between the two positions but also the serious concerns of the conservatives:

Johnson and Humphrey, Goldwater and Miller, all believed that the purpose of America was to enrich the individual life. Something, perhaps, was wrong with the condition of that life in 1964. But Goldwater and Miller saw what was wrong as the government; and Johnson and Humphrey saw the government as the chief means of dealing with the wrong. . . .

Goldwater could offer—and this was his greatest contribution to American politics—only a contagious concern which made people realize that they must begin to think about such things. And this will be his great credit in historical terms: that finally he introduced the condition and quality of American morality and life as a subject of political debate.

Harvard University

FRANK FREIDEL

CANADA UNDER LOUIS XIV, 1663–1701. By W. J. Eccles. [The Canadian Centenary Series, Number 3.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 275. \$8.50.)

PROFESSOR Eccles' book is part of a seventeen-volume project, the first large-scale cooperative history of Canada to be attempted since the publication of *Canada and Its Provinces* fifty years ago. The approaching centenary of Confederation seemed to the editors of the new series a most appropriate time to launch this ambitious undertaking.

The author justifies his choice of 1701 as the terminal date of his investigation in preference to 1715, when Louis XIV's reign came to an end. In the preface he points out that 1701 marks a definite break with the colonial policy of compact, self-sustaining establishments in the St. Lawrence Valley set by Colbert at the beginning of the period under examination. Eccles further explains that, in 1701, Louis XIV, in order to cope better with the complications of European politics brought about by the placing of his grandson on the throne of Spain, directed a settlement to be founded at the mouth of the Mississippi, thereby committing the French to occupy all of the western part of North America from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico and keep the English hemmed in between the Alleghenies and the Atlantic.

After a foreword by the editors of the series and a preface by the author, the book opens with a chapter entitled "France and New France, 1663." Among other topics treated are the establishment of the colony as a royal province, the institutional framework of the new province, the colonial policy of Colbert, civil administration and constitutional development, military operations against the Iroquois and the English, westward expansion, New France's economy, and relations between Church and state. The narrative proper closes with a brief assessment of the transformation that New France underwent between 1663 and 1701. Supplementary material includes bibliographical information to which footnotes in the text refer, a select list of manuscript and printed sources, an index, and a list of acknowledgments.

Canada under Louis XIV conforms splendidly to the objectives set by the

editors of the series. It presents a scholarly, well-balanced, readable treatment of the economic, political, and social forces that molded Canadian life during one of the most critical periods of the country's history. The author was particularly well equipped to undertake this study. Research that he had done for a previous work, *Frontenac: The Courtier Governor* (1959), constituted an excellent preparation for the present book, in which Frontenac, twice governor of New France, is the dominant figure during nineteen of the thirty-eight years covered.

University of Virginia

JOSEPH MÉDARD CARRIÈRE

ORGANIZED LABOR IN LATIN AMERICA. By *Robert J. Alexander*. [Studies in Contemporary Latin America.] (New York: Free Press. 1965. Pp. x, 274. \$5.95.)

ORGANIZED labor in Latin America is a neglected topic of research. Robert J. Alexander's book is an attempt to fill that gap. Unfortunately, it provides a general but, paradoxically, narrow picture.

Chiefly responsible for its limited scope is its character. The author has attempted to survey the history of the labor movement for the entire area, including Puerto Rico and the Caribbean colonies. Each Latin American nation has a chapter or a section of a chapter devoted to it, but the entire study covers only 264 pages. Thus, the author provides no more than a superficial sketch. Brazil, perhaps the most important country, where a Labor party won the presidency, has just 22 pages dedicated to it. Still, by comparison with other countries, Brazil is treated handsomely; Paraguay and Uruguay together receive less than 12 pages. In addition, Alexander employs what is basically a narrative approach. Analysis in depth is marked by its absence. The reader is compelled to read the same story again and again. The pattern for each country begins with the origins of labor organization in the late nineteenth century, usually with groups of anarcho-syndicalists; a discussion of the conflicts between rival unions since 1900, which often ends in a kind of alphabet soup, completes the picture.

The major contribution, however, lies precisely where Alexander does not follow the country-by-country approach: in his first 30 pages where he discusses hurriedly some of the economic and political aspects of Latin American labor in general.

A number of fundamental questions, moreover, are left unanswered. Employer attitudes toward organized labor are only mentioned; not once are the problems of a typical strike described; if there are public attitudes toward labor they are not discussed. What is the role of the government union, such as the organs of Mexico that are dominated by the PRI? To what extent are they, in reality, unions of workers? Or are they political organs manipulated for the benefit of the ruling oligarchy? Why do the Peronists continue to have such a powerful hold on large segments of Argentine labor?

Alexander, further, is strongly anti-Communist, an opinion he has every right to hold. But that view makes an impartial analysis of the labor picture difficult, for Communists have played leading roles. Alexander's dislike of Communists does not explain why they have exercised so much influence, a fact that would lead some to believe in the existence of responsible, idealistic, and dedicated Com-

munist labor bosses, as perhaps in Chile. In Cuba, to cite another case, Alexander believes that the *Auténticos*, who replaced Batista in 1944, served labor well by removing Lázaro Peña and his Communist cohorts from union leadership. But, evidence also indicates that the *Auténticos*, by making labor subservient to their party, weakened the unions and destroyed their autonomy which, strangely enough, existed in the precarious arrangement between the Communists and Batista.

In conclusion, therefore, though Alexander's book adds new material, it is not the study long awaited by the specialist.

Smith College

RAMÓN EDUARDO RUIZ

VISCOUNT MAUÁ AND THE EMPIRE OF BRAZIL: A BIOGRAPHY OF IRINEU EVANGELISTA DE SOUSA (1813-1889). By *Anyda Marchant*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. xx, 291. \$6.50.)

THIS is one of the most valuable books in English on Brazil and Brazilians. Irineu Evangelista de Sousa, later Baron and Viscount Mauá, was the key figure in the nineteenth-century effort to modernize the Brazilian economy. Though his efforts were heroic and temporarily successful, the forces resisting change were much too powerful for him to overcome.

Mauá was of humble origin, born in Rio Grande do Sul near the border of Uruguay. At the age of nine he was apprenticed to a merchant in Rio. He used his opportunities to learn French, accounting, and other skills, and he soon earned the trust of his employer. In 1829 his master went bankrupt, and Mauá entered the service of an English merchant named Richard Carruthers. This was a turning point in his life.

It was with Carruthers that Mauá completed his commercial education. "To Carruthers he soon was much more than a new clerk. He was a pupil, a prop for old age, almost a son, certainly an heir." Mauá became thoroughly committed to English ways, especially in commerce and finance. In one year he was a partner in Carruthers' firm. Mauá visited England, and was especially interested in iron-working, the industry he called the "mother of all others." He persuaded Carruthers, though retired, to found a new firm which was to be his chief financial agent in a multitude of industrial projects. In 1846 Mauá purchased a small iron-working plant in Niteroi, and his first contract was to supply pipe for Rio's water system. Later he built machinery of all kinds, and at the peak of production the plant employed one thousand men. But in 1860 Brazil abandoned the protective tariff, and Mauá lost \$500,000.

Mauá undertook many other projects, including a street-lighting system for Rio, which made him a handsome profit; railroad building and operation; a tramway line for Rio; a drainage canal for the marshes around the capital; steam navigation on the Amazon River; banking, in Argentina and Uruguay as well as in Brazil; and a submarine cable from Caravelas, Portugal, to Recife, which was completed in 1874. (President Buchanan, not Polk, received the cable message from Queen Victoria in 1858.)

For his railroad building achievements Senhor Irineu received the title of

Baron of Mauá. For his work in arranging for the laying of the cable he was raised to viscount; he made no profit from the enterprise. In both cases Dom Pedro II apparently granted the titles with reluctance.

The Paraguayan War, which Mauá had strenuously opposed, caused his financial ruin and bankruptcy. Though he had been wealthy and powerful, he was always suspect, for the imperial regime depended on the slave-owning *fazendeiro* aristocracy, and Mauá had no connection with it. He added to this distrust by his unconcealed opposition to slavery. Nineteenth-century Brazil, which was thoroughly ruled by Dom Pedro II, was not at all prepared for a man of Mauá's vision and enterprise.

Texas Christian University

DONALD E. WORCESTER

EMPIRES IN THE WILDERNESS: FOREIGN COLONIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN GUATEMALA, 1834-1844. By *William J. Griffith*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Pp. x, 332. \$7.50.)

THIS excellent treatment of an exceedingly complex subject investigates the efforts of Dr. Mariano Gálvez, President of Guatemala, to populate through foreign immigration the comparatively unpopulated regions of his country, chiefly the eastern. Gálvez preferred Englishmen as immigrants for he admired the English system and the English character.

Complications arose from a variety of factors. Guatemala was not a completely free agent since it was, at the beginning of the period, a member of the Central American Confederation, and some attention must be given its government. Furthermore, the agencies through which Gálvez hoped to accomplish his end fought one another and were much more interested in financial gains than in furthering the interests of Guatemala. Also, the limits of British Honduras had never been clearly delineated, and that government had no desire to see new settlements nearby that would probably cut seriously into the profits of Englishmen who operated in the hardwood cutting and shipping industries. A final difficulty, eventually determinative, was that strong opposition developed in Guatemala to the establishment of a group of English colonies, or settlements, in the eastern coastal region. The opposition made frequent references to what had happened in Texas; a similar development was to be feared in Guatemala, and nearby Belize would have constituted an excellent base for such a movement.

While concessions for founding settlements were made to several English companies, the most important had the elephantine title "Eastern Coast of Central America Commercial and Agricultural Company." Its grant included an extensive area that lay both north and south of Lake Izabal and involved the aim of establishing a port near what is now Puerto Barrios. It would have been a serious competitor of Livingston, the port of British Honduras that at the time held a monopoly of transportation in and out of the country on the eastern coast. This company, and others, was in the main ignorant of conditions in the concession area and made little effort to select emigrants who would be able to cope with conditions there. Preparations to receive them were late and inadequate; all failed. Gálvez' dream was unrealized.

As a result of extensive and thorough research in the archives of Guatemala

and England and other available sources, the author has accomplished the difficult task of making clear to the reader a most complicated subject. This admirable book deserves a place in every library that gives any attention at all to Latin American matters.

Albuquerque, New Mexico

WATT STEWART

HISTÓRIA DO SUPREMO TRIBUNAL FEDERAL. Volume I, DEFESA DAS LIBERDADES CIVIS (1891-1898). By *Lêda Boechat Rodrigues*. [Retratos do Brasil, Volume XXXVIII.] (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Civilização Brasileira. 1965. Pp. 191.)

MODELED after the US Supreme Court and determined to uphold the doctrine of "Judicial Review," the Supreme Federal Tribunal of Brazil encountered unyielding opposition to its authority during the early years of the First Republic. Faced with internal disorders and rebellion, the military government of Floriano Peixoto violated the Constitution with impunity. From 1892 to 1894, at one time or another, the "Iron Marshal" deposed state governors, dismissed professors with tenure, tried civilians in military courts, ignored the immunity of congressmen during a state of siege, and denied the writ of habeas corpus to many Brazilians. When the tribunal moved to check these abuses and to defend civil liberties, Peixoto subjected the justices to all kinds of pressures: he held judges criminally responsible for declaring laws and executive acts unconstitutional; he hampered the high court's sessions by refusing to fill vacancies, thus making it difficult to form a quorum; and he encouraged the government press to harass the judges or anyone who dared to champion judicial sovereignty. Despite the brilliant and consistent defense of principle by Rui Barbosa in the Senate, in the courts, and in the press, the STF was unable to resist the executive's pressures. The tide turned, however, during the civilian administration of Dr. Prudente de Moraes (1894-1898). Earlier decisions were reversed, and, in spite of Moraes' stubborn opposition, the tribunal gradually assumed its rightful jurisdiction in the Brazilian government.

There are striking parallels between this early republican period and the present military regime in Brazil; for this reason the author hastened the publication of this book, the first of a projected series that will treat Brazilian constitutional developments up to 1930. The motive for publication notwithstanding, this work is not polemical. On the contrary, it is a sound and objective, topically organized description of the problems and issues that confronted the STF in the first seven years of its existence. It is, moreover, a pioneer effort in a hitherto neglected field. Well versed in American constitutional history, the author has provided a satisfactory framework for subsequent interpretive studies. An appendix of biographical sketches adds to the monograph's usefulness.

University of Arizona

MARIO RODRÍGUEZ

COMMUNISM IN MEXICO: A STUDY IN POLITICAL FRUSTRATION.

By *Karl M. Schmitt*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 290. \$6.00.)

THE Mexican Communist party, organized in 1919 by an Indian nationalist and first represented in Moscow by a US draft dodger, began its career under inauspicious circumstances, and it has never amounted to much as a political or social force. After nearly fifty years of political frustration (to use Professor Schmitt's words) Mexican Communism can point to almost nothing as a source of power or influence, but to many failures: splinter groups, public quarreling among the leaders, strong anti-Communist labor unions, the growth of capitalism, and a discernible shift by the government away from a Marxian philosophy. Despite a network of front activities and a set of prolific publishing concerns, the Communists have attracted no significant following from any segment of society. Schmitt concludes that the failure of Mexican Communism to dent Mexican politics derives from a generally attractive government program that cuts the base from the Communist propaganda handled by grossly inadequate leaders and suffering from a narrow-minded dogmatism.

The author's findings and conclusions scarcely constitute a startling reinterpretation of recent Mexican developments. To be sure, newspapers and periodicals have occasionally carried items shrieking of Mexico's Communist threat, and all too frequently some US politicians have used the theme for their own purposes. But, in general, responsible scholars and men of public affairs have taken the view that Schmitt elucidates in this first full-scale study of Mexican Communism. For most historians a reading of the approximately forty pages in Chapters I and VI, covering the history of the various Communist parties and the failure of the Communist movement, will suffice; these are the most interpretive and by far the best written. The remaining pages make a detailed examination of the front organizations, party programs and activities, Communist attempts to penetrate the labor movement, and government policy regarding domestic and international Communism.

The unwieldy organization leads to an unfortunate repetition and many apparent contradictions which interfere with the ease of reading and add little to comprehension. Since Schmitt deals with a great variety of agencies and groups intimately intertwined, and since his book's organization demands that he treat them in varied contexts, he uses over eighty different letter abbreviations. The author was clearly aware of the problem his alphabet smorgasbord might pose for the reader and tried to compensate by frequent identifications. But even with these identifications, the reader will find himself constantly searching, by necessity, for a name with which to tag the letter groups.

In summary, by virtue of his training, his background, and his research, Schmitt writes with authority but with little *élan*.

Michigan State University

CHARLES C. CUMBERLAND

NATIONALISM AND COMMUNISM IN CHILE. By *Ernst Halperin*. [Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Studies in International Communism, Number 5.] (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1965. Pp. xii, 267. \$7.50.)

UNTIL the Chinese tried to assert their influence in the international movement, Communism in Chile was generally quite cautious and conservative. On the other

hand, as Ernst Halperin expertly describes the situation, certain Chilean nationalists traditionally wanted an immediate and sweeping revolution aimed primarily at ending US economic hegemony and socializing the economy. Frequently extreme nationalists found their political home in Chile's Socialist party.

Despite their vast differences, Chilean Communists and Socialists entered into the Popular Action Front (*Frente de Acción Popular*) and in 1958 supported the presidential bid of Socialist Senator Salvador Allende. Advocating a program of evolution rather than revolution, the FRAP failed by only some forty thousand votes to elect its candidate.

When Castro seized power in Cuba in January 1959, the Chilean Communist party, although it had earlier berated him because Moscow doubted that he could succeed or be won to the Communist camp, began to praise the colorful Cuban, at least in public. Behind the scenes, however, Communists continued to be wary of Castro, doubting Moscow's ability to control him. In contrast, Chile's extreme nationalists, especially members of the Socialist party, hailed Castro without reservation. When the US failed in the Bay of Pigs invasion, nationalists and Socialists believed that their arguments in favor of rapid nationalization of US investments had been vindicated and that they could proceed, immune from Yankee reprisal, to socialize the economy at a revolutionary pace. Even Communists began to waver in their old assertion that the time had not yet come for revolution, and the FRAP in 1961 adopted a far more revolutionary line than it had advanced in 1958.

The 1962 missile crisis restored many of Chile's revolutionaries to a sense of reality. It revealed, states Halperin, "that Latin American revolutionary regimes during a crisis would not be able to count on Soviet protection against United States intervention." This fact, the author believes, contributed to the Christian Democratic victory in the 1964 Chilean presidential elections: it provided the electorate with an added inducement for supporting the evolutionary program of Christian Democracy rather than the revolutionary extremism with which the FRAP was associated. After the elections the Communists dominated by Moscow reverted wholeheartedly to their policy of gradualism, but the Communists oriented toward China, frequently supported by nationalists and Socialists, continued to demand the speedy initiation of total revolution.

The book is well written and cogently reasoned. Halperin makes extensive use of Russian and Chinese line Communist publications, frequently allowing the documents to speak for themselves. This book may well be the most sophisticated English-language treatment of Communism in a Latin American country.

University of Pennsylvania

FREDRICK B. PIKE

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

The San Francisco Meeting, 1965*

For the second time in eighty years, after a hiatus of exactly half a century, a meeting of the Association convened in San Francisco. Though many members feared that attendance would fall below normal because of the frontier site, more than 2,800 hardy delegates flocked to the Golden Gate city's Hilton Hotel. Nor were spirits dampened by the unseasonably cold and wet weather, which perversely enough gripped California throughout the meeting. The hotel, in fact, proved inadequate to accommodate all the sixty-three sessions and eight scheduled luncheons of the busy meeting, but thanks to the deft planning of Gerald White and his excellent Local Arrangements Committee, supplementary facilities were utilized at the neighboring St. Francis and Sir Francis Drake Hotels. The impressive attendance and smoothness of program arrangements were, from all reports, matched by a generally high caliber of session papers and ensuing discussion. Perhaps thanks to the success of this meeting, following the precedent set by the major leagues, our Association will hereafter more fully integrate West Coast cities into its regular list of rotating hosts.

The Program Committee, under the chairmanship of Brainerd Dyer, consisted of Eugene L. Asher, Woodrow Borah, Peter Duignan, Samuel C. McCulloch, Rodman W. Paul, Marin Pundeff, Donald E. Queller, and Stanley Wolpert. At its first meeting the committee agreed that some attempt should be made to commemorate the 750th anniversary of Magna Carta by encouraging a number of panels to explore aspects of the general theme "Liberty under Law," though it soon became apparent that no single rubric could adequately serve as an over-all theme for the meeting. The program did, however, finally include two panels directly concerned with that historic landmark of constitutional history: "Magna Carta after Seven Hundred and Fifty Years," held on the first morning; and "Liberty and Law since Magna Carta," scheduled for the first afternoon. There were, moreover, six other panels somewhat more tenuously inspired by our partial "theme": "The Role of the Supreme Court in American History: Three Interpretations"; "Scandinavia and the Rule of Law"; "Liberty under Law in Contemporary East Asia: The Impact of the Past upon the Rights of the Accused" (joint session with the Conference on Asian History); "Legal Thought and the Rise of Historicism"; "Constitutional Tensions in the American Empires during the Eighteenth Century"; and "Indian Liberalism."

The remaining fifty-five sessions, while not thematically integrated, were selected for a variety of reasons, including anticipated professional excellence and

* This is an abridged account of the Annual Meeting in San Francisco, California, December 28-30, 1965. A full report will be published in the *Annual Report, Proceedings*, Volume I, 1965, available to members on request.

inherent interest, concern for the broadest possible geographic and chronological distribution, and particular topical importance. Some of the best-attended and most provocative sessions were: "Pius XII and the Axis in World War II," chaired by René Albrecht-Carrié; "History and the Behavioral Sciences," chaired by Leo Gershoy, at which Crane Brinton commented; "The Historian's Use of Psychology" (joint session with the Conference Group for Central European History), chaired by Raymond J. Sontag; "Interracial Violence in Twentieth-Century America," chaired by Walter Johnson; "Slavery as Viewed by Abolitionists and Historians," chaired by Fawn M. Brodie; "New Deal Diplomacy," chaired by Thomas A. Bailey; and "Sir Winston Churchill as Historian," at which A. L. Rowse presented his "evaluation" of Churchill's historical writing. This brief abstract, however, cannot note all of the excellent papers presented at the meeting, but for reasons of space must confine itself merely to a chronological listing of the remaining panel topics.

Other sessions held on the morning of December 28 included: "Police Power in the Middle Ages"; "American Maritime History in the Pacific"; "The Immigrant and His Church"; "Research Accomplishments and Opportunities in Early Nineteenth-Century German History"; "The Intellectual Impact of World War I on Europe and the United States, 1914-1918"; "National Character in Latin America"; "Soviet Historians and Western Hemisphere History"; "The Influence of Disarmament upon Technology"; and "Professional Placement in History."

Three luncheon conferences met on the first day. The Pacific Coast Branch, which postponed its regular summer gathering in order to meet in full joint session with the Association, was addressed by President John S. Galbraith, who spoke to an overflow audience on "Some Reflections on the Profession of History." Dorothy O. Johansen was the chairman. The Conference on Latin American History luncheon, chaired by Robert N. Burr, heard a paper on "Two Historians in Search of a Single History," by Daniel Cosío Villegas. The Phi Alpha Theta luncheon was addressed by Gilbert C. Fite, on "Daydreams and Nightmares: The Late Nineteenth-Century Agricultural Frontier." Lynn W. Turner was the chairman.

As in the morning, eleven sessions were held simultaneously on the first afternoon, including panels as diverse and interesting as: "Erasmus and Church Unity" (joint session with the American Society for Reformation Research); "Nationalism in Modern Latin America" (joint session with the Conference on Latin American History); "Colonialism in Africa: Some Appraisals"; "The Writing of History," which John D. Hicks kindly agreed to chair on short notice; "History in the Schools" (joint session with the National Council for the Social Studies); "Appearance and Reality: An Example in Seventeenth-Century Irish History" (joint session with the American Committee for Irish Studies); "Constraint and Variety in Transplanting Civilization to Early America"; and "Russian Science in the Late Nineteenth Century" (joint session with the Conference on Slavic and East European History). At 4:30 p.m. that afternoon, the business meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch was held, under the chairmanship of President Galbraith.

The Mediaeval Academy of America held its annual dinner meeting at 7:00 p.m. on December 28, and more than one hundred members gathered to hear

Gerhart B. Ladner speak with great learning and insight on "Homo Viator: Ideas on Alienation and Order in the Middle Ages." Gray C. Boyce was the chairman.

On the second day, ten sessions were scheduled for both morning and afternoon, and five special luncheon meetings were held. The morning's program included panels on: "Recent Revisions and Amendments in Stuart History"; "Intellectual and Class Alienation—Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries"; a joint session with the Southern Historical Association, at which a paper on "The South and the Reconstruction of American Politics" was read and discussed; "Russian Views of American Society in the Twentieth Century" (joint session with the American Studies Association); "Frontiers of Research in American Church History" (joint session with the American Society of Church History); "The Chinese World Order"; "The Canadian Political Image of the United States" (joint session with the Canadian Historical Association); "African History: Problems and Prospects"; and "The New Look in Military History" (joint session with the American Military Institute).

At 12:30 p.m. delegates could choose from among five afterluncheon addresses. Members of the Conference on Slavic and East European History heard Donald W. Treadgold speak on "Reflections on the Reception of Western Thought in Modern Russia," under the chairmanship of Sergius Yakobson. Walter Millis spoke on "Peace Research and the Historian" to the Conference on Peace Research in History, chaired by Charles A. Barker. The Modern European History Section of the Association heard Carl E. Schorske discuss "The Quest for the Grail: Morris and Wagner," with Oron J. Hale in the chair. "New Dimensions in the Education of American Archivists" was the subject of a talk by Allen DuPont Breck presented to the Society of American Archivists, under the chairmanship of Dolores C. Renze. Joseph Levenson spoke on "History and Cosmopolitanism" at the Conference on Asian History luncheon, chaired by Delmer Brown.

Wednesday afternoon's sessions covered: "Moral Values and Social Systems—Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries"; "Early Bourbon Absolutism"; "War and Social Reform" (joint session with the Committee on the History of Social Welfare); "Historiography as Intellectual History"; "Slavery in Islam"; "Russian-American Convergence in the Pacific Area"; "Medieval Universities and Social Change"; and "From Dante to the Present: Tradition and Change in the Making of Italian Society."

The Association's Business Meeting, chaired by President Frederic C. Lane, began at 4:30 p.m. on December 29 with reports from the Executive Secretary, Paul L. Ward; the Managing Editor of the *Review*, Henry R. Winkler; and the Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser.

At the general meeting of the Association that night President Lane presented the George Louis Beer Prize for 1965 to Paul Guinn, Jr., for his recent book, *British Strategy and Politics, 1914-1918*; and the Albert J. Beveridge Award for 1965 to Daniel M. Fox for his manuscript entitled "The Discovery of Abundance," which, under the terms of the award, will now be published without cost to the author. Following these presentations, the Executive Secretary introduced President Lane to a large and receptive audience as he delivered his address, "At the

Roots of Republicanism" (see *AHR*, LXXI [Jan. 1966], for the full text of the address).

By the last morning the rain had subsided, but with eleven concurrent sessions the meeting continued in full swing. Morning panels dealt with such subjects as "Reactions to the Fall of the Roman Empire"; "The Role of the Church in a Changing Latin America" (joint session with the American Catholic Historical Association); "The Continuing Debate on the French Revolution"; "The Muck-rakers: A Revaluation"; "Cooperation in Canadian and American Agriculture" (joint session with the Agricultural History Society); "The Influence of German Thought on Early Nineteenth-Century Intellectual Life" (joint session with the History of Science Society); and "Disarmament: Historic Successes and Failures."

Despite the usual diminished attendance on the final afternoon, most of the ten scheduled sessions were well attended; they dealt with: "Manuscripts on Microfilm: Current Programs and Progress"; "The Changing Image of Russia and the West in Eastern Europe"; "Varieties of American Neutrality Thought in the 1930's" (joint session with the Organization of American Historians); "Historians and Reprint Publishing: Mutual Problems"; "Southeast Asia before the Western Impact"; "The Ancient City"; and "Tocqueville as a Source for American History."

In this abridged report I cannot, of course, adequately express my own appreciation and that of our committee to the national officers, affiliated scholarly organizations, and individual members of the Association, whose advice, assistance, initiative in suggesting panel topics and papers, and ready cooperation in serving on the program helped make this meeting such a successful and valuable scholarly experience. We are especially grateful to those who filled in at the last moment for session chairmen, commentators, and speakers, who were unable to participate as planned, for regretfully such casualties do and did occur. Finally, I would like to take this opportunity of generally thanking those who joined the program, as well as all the delegates, whose faithful attendance, questions, and comments at the sessions helped stimulate panelists to expound their subjects more clearly.

University of California, Los Angeles

BRAINERD DYER

The Year's Business, 1965

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR 1965

An annual report by someone who has been on full-time duty for only three months must be more like a balance sheet than like a review of income and expenditures. These past weeks since September 1 have been for me a vivid experience of coming to know the Association. I am filled with appreciation of the staggering amount of work done shorthandedly by my predecessors, and with equal appreciation of the dedicated attention to details by staff members. In its inner workings the Association seems to me remarkably healthy and ready to respond to worth-while new demands.

These new demands are upon us, forcing consideration of the increase in dues that you will vote upon later in this Business Meeting. My novice impressions of the state of the Association may have most value if I confine myself to what may be relevant for your decision today.

As you are aware, the Association's staff has increased over the past few years, most noticeably in the appointment of a half-time Editor for the *Review* and a full-time Executive Secretary. But over the past dozen years the increase of the staff has proportionately been perceptibly less than the increase in the Association's membership. Coupled with this disproportion has been a great change in the climate in this country for educational activities. New initiatives appear on all sides. It is therefore not hard to see why the Association's office staff, which was hard working in 1953, in 1965 is finding it difficult to keep on top of even its routine responsibilities. There were six thousand members then; we have reached fifteen thousand members now.

The choice today before the Association is whether to undertake a more positive role than in the past, in order to fulfill its responsibilities in the new conditions around us more adequately. Let me speak very briefly of these responsibilities and new conditions under the three heads mentioned in our charter: "the promotion of historical studies," "the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts," and "kindred purposes in the interests of history."

First, the promotion of historical studies. Those who are impressed with the present surge of energies into improving history in the schools tend too often to underrate the influence of the quiet work done by the Association's Service Center for Teachers of History since 1956, through its pamphlets and conferences. This past summer the first NDEA institutes for school teachers of history enlisted the dedicated efforts of many college historians, and with cordial encouragement from the Association this is leading to an even greater number of similar institutes for the summer of 1966. This one federal expenditure for history next summer will approach six million dollars. Another and heartening development is the creation by Congress of the new Humanities Endowment, headed by a distinguished Association member, Barnaby Keeney, for this promises unprecedented support for scholarship in history in a variety of ways that should prove invigorating. Back in classrooms and faculty offices, the conduct of historical studies is itself going well. One of the most significant books for our profession to appear this past year is the volume *History* in the "Princeton Studies" series; in it John Higham concludes a perceptive survey of the past half century by pointing to "the renewal of history" (his words) in the past decade or two.

Second, the collection and preservation of historical materials. The Association's continuing efforts since its beginnings to make available manuscripts and provide major bibliographies have been recently matched by impressive collections of much more popular materials in handsomely illustrated magazines and in reconstructions like old Williamsburg. The federal government is now supporting, through the National Historical Publications Commission, large collections of manuscripts in the tradition of nineteenth-century historical efforts, and this past year some National Science Foundation money has joined much other help to

make possible some promising beginnings for the quantitative study of voting records and census materials through electronic equipment. Bibliography is equally challenged by innovations. The committee that convened yesterday evening, to study bibliographical practices in the field of history, faces a wealth of encouraging possibilities for more effective aids. Our opportunities for improving the availability of valuable historical evidence now extend far beyond the collection of manuscripts.

Third, kindred purposes in the interests of history. The activities of the Association's headquarters, and the initiative and devotion of its members, have served over the past years to uphold the cause of history. In these days when the interests of other fields of study are being more strongly advanced, it was timely that Julian Boyd last December laid before the Association's members a project for a center for historical scholarship in the nation's capital. The creation of a proper gathering place, which would also be an adequate clearinghouse and focus of leadership for the many activities touching historians that inevitably originate in Washington, is a major enterprise. I need not tell you that it will take much quiet effort behind the scenes, and much active concern from members of the Association at large. But when it is accomplished many activities can be better brought together for mutual stimulus and aid. I need only mention as an example the many other, more partial associations of historians that are now strikingly increasing their membership and influence around the country. Historical endeavors as a whole will then be better based to relate successfully to the advancing social sciences, to the urgent development of school education, and to other equally important initiatives of the "Great Society."

In all three areas of responsibility, the essential groundwork has been laid by Boyd Shafer, Stull Holt, and Louis Wright, as well as by members of the Council and central committees of the Association. I feel it an honor to join a hard-working team at a moment of special opportunities. I especially appreciate the talents of Henry Winkler as Editor of the *Review*, Elmer Kayser as Treasurer, and Robert Zangrando as Director of the Service Center. It is frankly a pleasure to be working for the Association at this time and with these associates.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1965

Last December, following through on a proposal that had been aired by my predecessor, I raised with the Council and Board of Editors the possibility of publishing annually a fifth issue of the *Review*. I agreed wholeheartedly with previous Editors that we urgently needed more space in which to review books, pointing out that under existing limitations the best that one could do, particularly for works in non-American and non-European history but also for major works in any field, was all too frequently inadequate and haphazard. Similarly, although the call for an expanded and varied offering of articles had grown with the increase in membership, there was little opportunity to respond to this demand within the constricting framework of our quarterly allotment of pages.

At the time it appeared that any further increase in the size of the individual issues would necessitate a more expensive method of binding, to say nothing of producing a periodical that would be bulky and difficult to handle. The Council accordingly authorized me to consult with the Board of Editors about a fifth issue, taking into account production costs, staff requirements, advertising problems, and the like. They instructed me to report our proposals to the Executive Committee of the Council for approval or disapproval.

Once we settled down to a systematic study of the implications of a fifth issue sandwiched in between two quarterly numbers, it became clear that we faced difficulties of some consequence. An informal sounding by our Advertising Manager, Miss Elsie J. Engel of the Macmillan Company, indicated a reluctance to place advertising material in such a fifth issue, but considerable support for a regular bimonthly format instead. The William Byrd Press, which has printed the *Review* since its establishment, then came up with a proposal that made it feasible to add some 64 pages to each quarterly issue up to a maximum figure of 496 pages. In the light of these technical difficulties and possibilities, the Board of Editors accepted my suggestion that for the time being the *Review* be permitted to grow in size while remaining a quarterly. The Executive Committee subsequently approved the recommendation and authorized me to seek an additional staff member to look after the increased volume of material in our journal. As a result, since April 1965 the *Review* has been expanded in size, and, while it is indeed bulky, all indications are that its readers can still handle it without undue exertion.

The physical profile of the larger *Review* is quickly sketched. In Volume LXX (October 1964–July 1965) there were some 900 reviews as compared with 786 in Volume LXIX. The indications are that the number will be even greater in Volume LXXI. Despite a ruthless limitation in length of reviews, despite an attempt to be equally ruthless in our selection of books for review, and despite our only modest success in eliciting books from publishers in Latin America, Europe, and Asia, the production of works of historical scholarship assures that we shall have to take notice of an increasing number of books each year. The *AHR* is, after all, the only eclectic journal of our profession, and a major service is to bring to the attention of its readers a wide range of scholarship in a wide range of fields. In much the same way, the requirements of our advertisers, whose fees help to subsidize the production of the *Review*, have grown, so that in April 1965 we published an unprecedented 100 pages of advertising copy, mainly for textbooks and scholarly monographs. Obviously, some balance must be struck between the space needs of advertisers and those of the scholars for whom the *Review* exists. I have therefore informed Miss Engel that, at least so long as our allotment of pages remains at about 500, we must limit our advertising to something like 85 pages an issue, a substantial figure but not one that is at all out of line.

Thus far I have said little about the articles which are the heart of any scholarly periodical. Because of the conditions I have indicated, it has as yet been impossible to add to their number, despite the evident desirability. This past year, the *Review* received 265 manuscripts as compared with 204 in the preceding period. Of these, 20 were published, 2 of a general nature, 6 on United States history, 8 on modern European history, 2 on Far Eastern history, and 2 on medieval history,

in addition to Julian Boyd's presidential address, "A Modest Proposal to Meet an Urgent Need." We have tried to be as catholic as possible in what we publish, offering some speculative, methodological, or broadly interpretive essays along with more detailed studies based on hard, empirical research in carefully limited areas. Our problem would be even greater if more scholars in ancient, medieval, Latin American, or non-Western history responded to our plea that they submit to us some of their work which might be of general interest to the profession as a whole.

But I will not dwell on that perplexing question. I have deliberately restricted myself to matters of space and of figures since I am increasingly coming to feel that the present expanded size of our quarterly numbers is only a temporary expedient. Eventually, we shall have to face up to whether the *Review* should be published bimonthly, perhaps five times a year in September, November, January, March, and May. Such a program would eliminate the awkwardness of a fifth issue published as a kind of appendage to the regular number of the *Review*. At the same time it would recognize the realities of the academic summer which is a part of the schedule of most members of the Association. It would make it possible to prepare the *Review* with only a modest augmentation of our present staff, and it would begin to make the *Review* available for at least some of the significant manuscripts we are now forced to return. At present, however, I have no proposal. The Board of Editors will, of course, look at the problem closely in the light of our experience with the expanded quarterly and be guided by that experience in whatever recommendations it appears wise to make.

Meanwhile, I should like simply to report my conviction that the affairs of the *AHR* go well. We have changed the format of the book review section, eliminating the distinction between long and short items and listing all reviews in the Table of Contents. The response to the change has been quite favorable. We hope that it will make the section somewhat more convenient to use. I continue to be delighted by the efficiency of the staff and the cooperation of scholars who almost invariably evaluate manuscripts quickly and with the most responsible care. Above all, I must record my gratitude to all the members of the Board of Editors, upon whom I have leaned very heavily during this past year. Not one has ever offered the complaint that my demands might well have merited. In such circumstances, an editor's lot is indeed a happy one.

HENRY R. WINKLER, *Managing Editor*

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
THE SAN FRANCISCO HILTON HOTEL
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
DECEMBER 27, 1965, 9:30 A.M.

Present at the meeting were: Frederic C. Lane, President; Roy F. Nichols, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Paul L. Ward, Executive Secretary; Henry R. Winkler, Managing Editor of the *Review*; Robert L. Zangrando,

Assistant Executive Secretary; Councilors Robert F. Byrnes, John K. Fairbank, Walter Johnson, Charles Mullett, Carl E. Schorske, and Louis B. Wright; former Presidents Julian P. Boyd, Carl Bridenbaugh, Crane Brinton, Louis R. Gottschalk, and Allan Nevins.

The minutes of the May 1965 meeting of the Council were approved as previously distributed, with Mr. Lane's correction of the amount of money the Council authorized him to spend for a reception for American historians attending last summer's meeting in Vienna—\$250 rather than \$200.

The Executive Secretary's report was approved as previously distributed and was deferred to the Business Meeting. Mr. Ward noted one correction.

The report of the Managing Editor of the *Review* was distributed prior to the Council meeting and was deferred to the Business Meeting. On the recommendation of Mr. Winkler the Council appointed David Donald to the Board of Editors to replace Richard Current whose term is expiring. Mr. Winkler further recommended that since about half of the articles submitted to the *Review* are on American history, thereby placing a heavy burden on certain Board members, an additional member in American history should be added to the Board. The Council approved and appointed Bernard Bailyn as this new member.

In response to Mr. Nevins' request for support of a proposal for an optional confidential questionnaire to be sent out by the Marquis Society (along with the regular *Who's Who in America* questionnaire) in order to provide useful information for scholars in years to come, the Council empowered the President of the Association to appoint a committee drawn from the Chicago area to work with representatives of the American Sociological Association, the American Economic Association, and the officers of the Marquis Society in the preparation of the proposed questionnaire. It was agreed that this committee should not become involved in considering ways to obtain other forms of contemporary evidence.

In presenting the Treasurer's report and budget Mr. Kayser pointed out that the budget is based on the present membership fees, and if the new fees are approved, it will be necessary for the Council to approve a new budget which will provide for increased staff and other forms of expenditure to give wider service and efficiency to the Association. He felt it desirable that committees should meet more often and that the Executive Secretary and Assistant Executive Secretary should travel more. Mr. Kayser also noted the increased payment to Macmillan resulting from the increased size of the *Review*. In response to Mr. Schorske's questioning the need for appointing committees with a country-wide representation, it was felt that this continues to be a good policy. On the question of tax exemption on travel for the Association, Mr. Kayser pointed out that the Association had not qualified in the past and that the actual benefits would be small. When the budget item for Service Center conferences for teachers was questioned in the light of the NDEA summer institutes, it was agreed that it is too soon to consider changes and that the conferences may even increase in value and interest because of the NDEA institutes. The budget was approved.

As clarification of the provision for student membership in the proposed amendment to the constitution to increase membership fees, the Council approved the working definition that any applicant or continuing member with a full-time

position of any kind, even though still registered as a student, is to pay the full membership fee.

Mr. Wright brought the Council up to date on the proposed Center for Historical Research. As he reported at the Council's May meeting, the committee has been delayed in pursuing its work until it could ascertain what another group was proposing. Now tentative plans have been announced for a center for advanced study in Washington under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. The Association is interested in cooperating in this proposal with the understanding that historians can have an autonomous center incorporating the essential matters in Mr. Boyd's speech of December 1964. It was agreed that pending clarification of the Smithsonian proposal, the Association should continue with its plans for a center and seek a qualified person to draw up a prospectus and raise funds for the center.

Mr. Kayser then read a letter from Mrs. Helen Taft Manning transmitting a gift of stock for the proposed center. After an expression of the Council's appreciation, it was agreed that, to handle such gifts, there would be practical value in having a separate corporation for the center under the responsibility of the officers of the Association. The Council approved Mr. Wright's recommendation that the Treasurer be empowered to investigate the feasibility of setting up a corporation in the District of Columbia to receive and to hold contributions for the proposed Center for Historical Research in Washington, D. C. The list of members of the committee on the center was changed to include the President *ex officio* in place of Mr. Lane's name.

The Council approved the selection of William E. Leuchtenburg of Columbia University as Program Chairman for 1966. The Council authorized the Executive Secretary to name the Local Arrangements Chairman in agreement with the officers. [John F. Roche of Fordham University was subsequently named.] After taking note of commitments to meet in 1967 at Toronto and in 1968 at Chicago, it was agreed that the 1969 meeting should be held in Washington, D. C., and that the officers and Executive Secretary should negotiate with the hotels. The Executive Secretary was further instructed to investigate the possibility of going thereafter to New Orleans. Mr. Byrnes suggested, however, that the Association meet at a different time of the year and on a university campus. He also proposed that the Council consider whether our Annual Meetings should continue in their present form. Mr. Kayser remarked that he would like to see the meetings return to a regular cycle.

Mr. Ward went through the report of the Committee on Committees indicating the items requiring the Council's approval. [A list of committees and committee members will appear in the July 1966 *AHR*.] After some discussion of the work of the Committee on Graduate Work in History it was agreed that the committee should be terminated and in time a new committee should be appointed with a new mandate. There was agreement that there is a need for the Association to adopt a list of standards to be used as a guide in the establishment of graduate programs in history. Postponing for the moment the one matter of the committee or committees on teaching, the report of the Committee on Committees was approved.

Mr. Schutz presented a brief report from the Pacific Coast Branch, indicating the financially healthy state of the Branch and the continuing growth of its membership. When Mr. Schutz remarked that the Branch would like to have the West Coast on the Association's regular schedule, every five or six years, Mr. Schorske pointed out that among the real beneficiaries of a West Coast meeting are the secondary-school and junior college teachers who can in this way come to identify with the profession.

The Council approved a resolution proposed by the Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial, with the amendment that a member of the Organization of American Historians be a member of the proposed committee, as follows:

WHEREAS, Legislation is pending in the Congress of the United States for establishment of an American Revolution Bicentennial Commission,

Be It *Resolved* that the membership of this Commission should include at least one representative each from the American Historical Association, to be designated by the Council of the Association; from the Organization of American Historians, to be designated by the Executive Board of the Organization; from the Library of Congress, to be, or to be designated by, the Librarian of Congress; from the National Archives and Records Service, to be, or to be designated by, the Archivist of the United States; and from the Smithsonian Institution, to be, or to be designated by, its Secretary.

Be It Further *Resolved* that the program of the Commission include specific plans for promoting and encouraging scholarly publications of enduring value, especially documentary and bibliographical works pertaining to the period of the American Revolution.

In place of the resolution on the records of the House of Representatives prepared by the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, Mr. Boyd presented a substitute phrased to acknowledge the stand taken by the Clerk of the House that the House is not a continuing body. Mr. Boyd's resolution, as follows, was approved.

WHEREAS, The Council of the American Historical Association, a body incorporated by the Congress and representing the interests of teachers and writers of history in the United States, being fully cognizant of the fact that the House of Representatives shares its belief that under a free government the public records should be publicly available so far as is consistent with the public safety, but being aware also of the difficulty inherent in the principle that one Congress cannot bind another and that in consequence much inconvenience results both to the Clerk of the House of Representatives and to historians engaged in legitimate pursuit of their useful inquiries, without any gain to the national interest or security, therefore,

Be It *Resolved*, that the Council of the American Historical Association respectfully requests that the House of Representatives embody in its rules when next formulated a provision that the records of the House of Representatives in their entirety be open for research purposes, subject to such limitation requiring a lapse of an appropriate number of years as is provided with respect to the records of the Senate, the Supreme Court, and various agencies of the Executive Department.

The following resolution on *Historical Abstracts* was approved.

WHEREAS, *Historical Abstracts* this past March completed ten years of successful publication, with *America: History and Life* now in parallel publication,

The Council of the American Historical Association extends its congratulations and

thanks for the effective service thereby rendered to the historical profession, and for the pioneering this represents toward better bibliographical aids.

The Council approved the nominations of the Committee on Honorary Members of Jacques Léon Godechot and Yasaka Takagi as honorary members of the American Historical Association.

The recommendation made by the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government as to *Writings on American History* was considered, but since the Council had not had the opportunity to read Mr. Oliver Holmes's report on the *Writings*, action was deferred, and the Executive Secretary and officers of the Association were authorized to take appropriate action later.

The Council rejected the request of the American Section of the joint American Historical Association-Canadian Historical Association committee for a contribution by the Association to the Albert B. Corey Prize, since it has not been the practice of the Association to contribute to prizes. The American Section also asked the Association to consider paying the travel expenses of AHA members involved as speakers in joint sessions at CHA meetings. The Council decided that this also would depart from the practices of the Association and would set an unfortunate precedent.

The discussion concerning the OAH proposal for a school history board, forwarded by the Committee on Teaching with a unanimous recommendation, indicated the Council's interest in the project. Mr. Ward reported the favorable reaction from several sources to the project, concurring in its potential for improving the teaching of history. There was general agreement with the concern voiced by Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Schorske that more emphasis be placed on bringing together than on separating the problems of teaching on the high school and on the college-university levels. Mr. Byrnes felt that high school teaching could not be improved unless college and university teaching and the preparation of teachers were also improved. Mr. Schorske therefore recommended having one committee on teaching in the Association. Mr. Ward in reply stressed the need for two committees because of the amount of work to be done; he was confident that the problem would be considered as a whole even though there were two committees. Mr. Lane noted that Mr. Strayer, who had been chairman of the Committee on Teaching, would be on the proposed Committee on College and University Teaching. The Council approved Mr. Bridenbaugh's motion to create this Committee on College and University Teaching and to authorize the Executive Secretary to proceed as he sees best because it is a complicated business and one in which he has been actively interested for a long time.

The Council also agreed that the Association should take part in creating the suggested school history board and that the Executive Secretary should convey to those concerned as well as to the two AHA committees the concern expressed by Mr. Byrnes that the problems of teaching on the high school and college and university levels be considered as inseparable.

Mr. Ward reported that the National Council for the Social Studies had taken favorable preliminary action on the OAH proposal and had appointed Isidore Starr as one of its representatives, and that the OAH would discuss the proposal

at its meeting the next day and would consider contributing some money. A conversation with a man from a foundation had indicated that contributions from the associations involved would strengthen the organizing committee's hand in seeking foundation support for this project. The Council accordingly voted to contribute one thousand dollars toward the project.

Mr. Lane questioned the wording of a resolution by the Council in 1964 that required the approval of the Executive Committee before the Executive Secretary could approach foundations for a grant. Mr. Wright explained that this was to protect the Executive Secretary against requests for all sorts of small grants. After discussing the statement it was agreed that the Executive Secretary should be freely in touch with the foundations but that he should not make formal requests for grants without the approval of the Executive Committee.

Philip D. Curtin was appointed to serve as a director of the Social Science Research Council for the 1967-1969 term. Mr. Boyd commented that he did not consider it proper for an officer of the Association to serve on the National Historical Publications Commission. In view of the accomplishments of the commission and the large volume of work to be done in the near future, he recommended Whitfield Bell, the new librarian of the American Philosophical Society, to be the Association's representative on the NHPC. This was approved. The recommendation by Mr. Ward and Mr. Strayer of George Barr Carson to serve on the board of *Social Education* was approved. Mr. Ward reported that the chairman of the Board of Trustees had written that Stanton Griffis and Julian Roosevelt were willing to serve another term. The Council approved their reappointment. The Council agreed with Mr. Kayser that when the Association meets in New York in 1966 something should be done to show the Association's appreciation of the work being done by the Board of Trustees.

Mr. Lane asked whether the Council should recommend anyone for the position of Archivist of the United States. The discussion that followed indicated the need for a specific resolution from the Council. The following resolution presented by Mr. Boyd was approved along with the recommendation that the incoming President should be responsible for its transmittal to President Johnson.

WHEREAS, The Council of the American Historical Association, a body incorporated by Congress and representing some fourteen thousand teachers and writers of history in the United States, being aware of the remarkable progress of the archival profession in this country and of the distinguished contribution made by Dr. Robert H. Bahmer to the profession, to the administration of the National Archives and Records Service, and to the spirit of cooperation with archivists of other nations through his office as Secretary General for the Western Hemisphere of the International Council on Archives, an organization which will hold its next session in Washington in 1966,

Be It Resolved, that the Council respectfully recommends to the President of the United States that Dr. Bahmer, having won the esteem of historians as well as archivists both in this country and abroad, be designated as Archivist of the United States.

The 1966 Executive Committee of the Council will consist of Roy F. Nichols, chairman, Elmer Louis Kayser, Robert F. Byrnes, Carl E. Schorske, Paul L. Ward, and Henry R. Winkler.

As the newest members of the Council present, Mr. Fairbank and Mr. Schorske were appointed to present the Council's resolutions to the Business Meeting.

Mr. Bridenbaugh's expression of appreciation of Mr. Wright's service as Executive Secretary pro tem met with enthusiastic support.

The meeting adjourned at 4:25 p.m.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
THE SAN FRANCISCO HILTON HOTEL
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
DECEMBER 27, 1965, 4:30 P.M.

President Frederic C. Lane called the meeting to order with approximately eighty members present. The minutes of the last meeting were accepted as printed in the April 1965 *Review*.

The Executive Secretary, the Managing Editor of the *Review*, and the Treasurer presented their reports. The Editor made special mention of the help given to him by Richard Current whose term on the Board of Editors is expiring. The Association has on file in its offices the reports of the auditor, Main, LaFrentz, and Company, and the Fiduciary Trust Company for viewing by anyone interested. The Treasurer's report, summarized as follows, was accepted without dissent.

The Association headquarters and its equipment are valued at \$100,051.93. The Association on August 31, 1965, had cash on hand for general purposes amounting to \$177,425.51, an increase of \$36,239.90 over the preceding year. Funds, unrestricted as to use of income, in the custody of the Fiduciary Trust Company of New York under the direction of the Board of Trustees, amount to \$298,299.50. These three items (headquarters building and equipment, cash, and invested funds) constitute the total assets of \$575,776.94, available for the general purposes of the Association.

Securities in the portfolio of the Matteson Fund amount to \$92,690.98, and those in the other special funds of the Association, restricted in purpose, amount to \$173,356.28. Unexpended portions of grants made by foundations and others for specified purposes amount to \$231,747.15. These various restricted funds total \$497,794.41.

Funds, restricted and unrestricted, composing the total assets of the Association amount to \$1,073,571.35 if the *book value* of permanent investments is used. If *market values*, according to the August 31, 1965, appraisal, are used, the total assets of the Association amount to \$1,434,701.80. There is an increase of \$125,479.09 over the preceding year if the *book value* of permanent investments is used. An increase of \$132,459.25 over the preceding year is shown if *market values* are used, as the result of the increase in the value of securities in permanent investment.

The Executive Secretary presented for adoption the proposed constitutional amendment which appeared in the October 1965 *AHA Newsletter*:

The amended portion of Article III, Section 1 would read: "Active membership shall date from the receipt by the Treasurer of the first payment of dues, which shall be \$15.00 a year or a single payment of \$300.00 for life. Life membership is given members who have belonged to the Association for fifty years. Any student regularly registered in an institution of learning and approved by the Council may become a junior member of the Association upon the payment of \$7.50 and the certification of his status as a student by a faculty member of his institution and, after the first year may continue as such, with the approval of the Council, by paying annual dues of \$7.50 and presenting evidence of his status as a student."

The discussion that resulted from members' questioning the necessity for this amendment emphasized the need for expanding the work of the Association and the importance of doing so if it is to keep up with current happenings. Attention was called to increasing costs, such as the cost of the *Review*. The approval of the amendment was almost unanimous.

The Executive Secretary then reported on actions taken by the Council at its May 1965 and December 1965 meetings.

Professor Arthur Bestor spoke briefly on the copyright bill and the Association's plans for preparing a report that can be read by Congress. He would be grateful for suggestions from the membership of the Association, but pointed out the need for quick action on this matter.

Professor John Higham reported as Chairman of the Nominating Committee. His committee nominated the following officers of the Association for 1966: President, Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Vice-President, Hajo Holborn, Yale University; Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University. These were unanimously elected. Elected by the mail ballot were Professors Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania, and John L. Snell, Tulane University, for the Council; and Professors Wallace MacCaffrey, Haverford College, and Clarence Ver Steeg, Northwestern University, for the Nominating Committee.

Professor Boyd C. Shafer presented the following statement:

Some of us were deeply and unhappily moved this week when we learned of the recent passing of Halvdan Koht, a great Norwegian historian, a great friend of America and American historians, and a scholar of international renown. Professor Koht and our own Waldo Leland were founders of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. For his scholarship and for his international service the AHA elected Professor Koht an honorary member. As Professor Koht related in his autobiography, *The Education of an Historian*, he came to the United States often and he wrote for the *AHR*. I think I may say for all of us that American historians admired this stalwart Norwegian and that we will long respect his work and honor his name.

Professor John K. Fairbank presented the following resolutions, both of which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Chairman of the Program Committee, Professor Brainerd Dyer, and his associates be warmly thanked by the Association for their achievement in creating an outstanding program.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Association be conveyed to the Chairman, Professor Gerald White, and members of the Local Arrangements Committee, and to their admirable staff of student aids for their hospitality and assistance.

Professor Walter L. Berg of Central Washington State College presented the following resolution which was rejected twenty-three to twenty-two. In casting the deciding vote Mr. Lane referred to the work already done in this area by a committee of the Association and indicated that further action would be taken in the near future, preferably in the form of establishing a set of standards to be used as a guide for departments of history.

Resolved, That the American Historical Association appoint a committee to investigate procedures for the establishment of accreditation of graduate schools of history and to explore the need for professional standards for both graduate and undergraduate degrees in history.

The meeting adjourned at 6:05 p.m.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The "Historical News" section of the *American Historical Review* will now contain only items pertaining to the Association, and to libraries and archives, notices of recent deaths, and communications from our readers. Other materials formerly included in this section will appear in the *AHA Newsletter*, beginning with the April 1966 issue of both publications.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received a first installment of the papers of James A. Farley, who served as Postmaster General in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's cabinet. The more than 9,000 pieces date from 1918 to 1959 and consist for the most part of correspondence, which includes letters from Presidents of the United States and other world figures. There are also scrapbooks, a file of Farley's speeches and addresses, photographs, and other supplementary material. The papers are not yet open for research.

The Library has received about 250 papers of Sylvanus Cadwallader, correspondent for the New York *Herald* during the Civil War. More than half of the material is composed of correspondence, including letters from a number of prominent persons, 1849-1899, and telegrams containing instructions and queries from the *Herald* office between July 1865 and July 1866. A number of the letters dated in the 1880's and 1890's relate to a search for the papers of General John A. Rawlins.

An important primary source for the study of the formative years of a major American poet is a group of early letters and poems of the late Theodore Roethke, from the years 1934-1941, a gift from Rolfe Humphries, the poet, translator, and critic.

Significant additions to existing groups of papers were also received by the Library. Edward Stead of Elkridge, Maryland, added a series of commissions

and other military papers documenting the various steps in Peter Force's military career, and a small amount of correspondence, to the Peter Force Papers. A group of 35 manuscripts, including several letters address to George Read, signer of the Declaration of Independence, by his sons, have been added to the papers of the Read family of Delaware. Miss Phebe Cates of Paris, France, has added an extremely rare vellum fragment identified as a late fifteenth-century Icelandic-language version of the Tristram legend to the William Dudley Foulke Papers.

Francis B. Sayre has given the Library the printer's copy of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points address to Congress on January 8, 1918. The manuscript will become part of the already existing collection of Wilson's papers.

Recent National Archives accessions include records of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, consisting of correspondence and related papers of Secretaries of the Treasury George M. Humphrey, 1953-1957, and Robert B. Anderson, 1957-1961, and of Undersecretaries and Assistant Secretaries for various periods between 1931 and 1961; minutes, correspondence, and reports relating to the Federal Home Loan Bank Board's representation on the Central Housing Committee, 1935-1939; and records including correspondence, legal opinions, minutes of meetings, reports, and studies, 1942-1945, of the Office of War Information.

Records of the Department of State recently microfilmed include Records from the Decimal File, 1910-1929, Relating to Internal Affairs of British Africa (33 rolls). Also recently completed are Letters Sent by the Secretary of the Treasury to Collectors of Customs at All Ports, 1789-1847, and at Small Ports, 1847-1878 (43 rolls); Records of the 1820 Census of Manufacturers (27 rolls); and Records of the Geological Exploration of the 40th Parallel ("King Survey"), 1867-1881 (3 rolls). Military records filmed include Indexes to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served during the Mexican War (41 rolls), during Indian Wars and Disturbances, 1851-1858 (42 rolls), From the State of Michigan during the Patriot War, 1838-1839 (1 roll), and From the State of New York during the Patriot War, 1838 (1 roll); Letters and Telegrams Sent by the Engineer Bureau of the Confederate War Department, 1861-1864 (5 rolls); and Telegrams Received by the Confederate Secretary of War, 1861-1865 (19 rolls).

On January 12, 1966, the governor of Massachusetts signed an act authorizing the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority to convey to the United States a tract of land that it now owns not far from Harvard Square and facing the Charles River and authorizing the state to reimburse the Authority for the land. This will be the site of the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library, which will be administered by the National Archives and Records Service of the General Services Administration. Definite architectural planning of the building can now be commenced by the architect, I. M. Pei.

Recent accessions of the Harry S. Truman Library include the papers of Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., former Assistant Secretary of Commerce, 1933-1951, and additional papers of Stephen A. Mitchell, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, 1952-1960.

Robert H. Bahmer, as Archivist of the United States, became the new chair-

man ex officio of the National Historical Publications Commission; Joe B. Frantz of the University of Texas and Whitfield Bell, librarian of the American Philosophical Society, were appointed to the commission.

At its meeting on December 11, 1965, the commission voted to recommend grants from appropriated funds to aid the South Carolina Historical Society in the collecting, editing, and publishing of the papers of Henry Laurens; the South Carolina State Archives Department in the collecting, editing, and publishing of the papers of John C. Calhoun; the University of Tennessee in the collecting, editing, and publishing of the papers of Andrew Johnson; the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society in collecting and microfilming the papers of Millard Fillmore; the Massachusetts Historical Society in continuing its microfilm publication of the papers of Timothy Pickering, Benjamin Lincoln, William Heath, and others; and the Nebraska State Historical Society in continuing its microfilm publication of the papers of J. Sterling Morton and others. The commission will continue to support two additional projects: the Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution and First Ten Amendments, and the Papers of the First Federal Congress. Lyman Butterfield, Henry P. Graff, and Merrill Jensen will review and make recommendations at the next meeting on the First Federal Congress project.

Columbia University Libraries have received a collection of Franklin D. Roosevelt materials from the family of the late Jacob J. Podell. The items include letters from almost every significant phase of Roosevelt's life.

The papers of Claude H. Van Tyne have been added to the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan. These papers, which include correspondence with nearly every noted American historian for the period 1885-1930, are the gift of Chester S. Lawton.

Under a grant from the National Historical Publications Commission, the University of Washington Libraries have completed microfilming the Richard A. Ballinger Papers, 1907-1911; the Oregon Improvement Company Papers, 1880-1896; the Isaac I. Stevens Papers, 1831-1862; the Manning F. Force Papers, 1835-1885; the John J. McGilvra Papers, 1861-1903; the Callbreath, Grant & Cook letterbooks, 1878-1898; the Washington Mill Company Papers, 1857-1888; the Washington Territorial Government Papers, 1853-1875; and the William H. Wallace Papers, 1851-1878. Printed guides are available from the Curator of Manuscripts, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, Washington 98105.

The Wayne State University Labor History Archives has acquired the papers of Henry Kraus, former editor of the *United Auto Worker*, and of "Bud" Simons.

Mrs. Allyn K. Ford has presented the Allyn K. Ford collection of rare manuscripts to the Minnesota Historical Society. Included in the materials are letters of George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and more recent figures.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin continues to build up its general manuscripts collections on aspects of life within the state and of broader importance. It has also increased its holdings in the area of mass communications history and its microfilm collections.

The Archives of the History of American Psychology has been established at the University of Akron to serve the needs of scholars by collecting, cataloguing, preserving, and in other ways maintaining the materials that provide the sources for the history of psychology.

RECENT DEATHS

Sister Mary David, C.S.C., of Norfolk, Virginia, died in April 1965.

Charles E. Foth of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, died July 29.

Aaron I. Abell, professor at the University of Notre Dame and a former president of the American Catholic Historical Association, died October 26, at the age of sixty-two.

Malcolm Eiselen, chairman of the department of history and political science at the University of the Pacific since 1934, died October 28, at the age of sixty-three.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History, emeritus, of Harvard University, died in Boston on October 30. Born in Xenia, Ohio, on February 27, 1888, he received his early education at local schools and at Ohio State University. He received his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1917. He combined successful teaching at Ohio State University, at the State University of Iowa, at Harvard, and abroad with large contributions to American historical writing, especially his pioneer writing in the field of cultural and social history, his training of a large number of followers in this field, and his editing, with Dixon Ryan Fox, of the monumental thirteen-volume series, the *History of American Life* (1927-48). His own volume in the series, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898*, is outstanding.

His doctoral dissertation, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*, won the Justin Winsor Prize in 1918; a later development of it was *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764-1776* (1957). His other important writings include *New Viewpoints in American History* (1922), *Paths to the Present* (1949), *The American as Reformer* (1950), and the second volume of a two-volume textbook with Homer C. Hockett, *The Political and Social History of the United States*, which appeared in numerous editions from 1925 to 1951 with varying titles and was widely used throughout the country. He was coauthor of the *Harvard Guide to American History* (1954); editor of two posthumous volumes of Marcus Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History* (1941) and *The Atlantic Migration* (1940), the latter winning a Pulitzer Prize;

and author of a valuable introduction to a new edition of Frederick Law Olmsted's *Cotton Kingdom* (1953). His own sprightly autobiography, *In Retrospect: The History of a Historian*, appeared in 1963. He was President of the American Historical Association in 1942 and the holder of numerous honorary degrees. Several of his works have been translated into foreign languages.

He was active in public affairs, with decided liberal leanings, during the twenties, favoring the New Deal and its successors. He served with the Committee on Records of War Administration, 1942-1946, the Commission on the Freedom of the Press, 1943-1946, the National Historical Publications Commission, 1951-1955 and 1961-1965, and the Commission on the Rights, Liberties and Responsibilities of the American Indian, 1957-1965. His long connection with the Social Science Research Council, of which he was chairman from 1930 to 1933, is one of many evidences of his desire to further American scholarship. A similar long connection with the Nieman Fellowships at Harvard was evidence of his desire to broaden the appeal of scholarship and to bring the world of journalism closer to the academic community. His interest in the education of women and in their role in American history found expression in his place on the Board of Trustees of Radcliffe College, 1942-1963, and in his contribution there to the growth of the Women's Archives, recently renamed in his honor and that of his widow, the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America.

On December 11, Halvdan Koht, an honorary member of the American Historical Association, died at the age of ninety-two. Since his first visit to the United States in 1908-1909 and his attendance at the Annual Meeting of 1908, his relations with the Association and its members became increasingly continuous and significant. In 1900 he was named professor of history in the University of Oslo, a post he held until 1935, when he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in the newly formed Labor government. In 1940 the German invasion of Norway caused him to come to the United States where he remained until 1945. While in this country he devoted much time to writing and lecturing. Upon returning to Norway he revised his earlier writings and turned European scholars toward the development of American studies in their universities through his *The American Spirit in Europe*.

He contributed significantly to the development of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, serving as its president from 1926 to 1933.

Koht deserves a full biography; he has made an important contribution toward that end in his autobiographical *Education of an Historian*. In addition, he had long been writing "memoirs" as a form of autobiography.

Louis Emery Bumgartner, associate professor at the University of Georgia, died December 23, at the age of forty-one. He was noted for his work in Central American history, having written *José del Valle of Central America*.

Lynn Thorndike, a life member of the American Historical Association and its President in 1955, died in New York City on December 28, at the age of

eighty-three. A graduate of Wesleyan, he received his doctorate from Columbia in 1905. After teaching at Northwestern and Western Reserve, he was called to Columbia in 1924 where he taught until his retirement in 1952. His textbook, *The History of Medieval Europe*, first published in 1917 and reappearing over the years in many successive editions, was influential in shaping the form and content of college courses in the subject. *A Short History of Civilization*, which appeared in 1926, in some ways a pioneer in the field, was a very direct product of Thorndike's humanism. As he wrote in the preface, "when the World War broke out in 1914, I determined to do what little I could to keep civilization alive. This volume is a contribution in that direction." That contribution was a "presentation of the main thread of the story of civilization between the covers of a single volume." In this *Short History*, written forty years ago, the great cultures of the Far East were not omitted, but were treated "both *per se* and in their relations to the west." Thorndike wrote that his *History of Magic and Experimental Science* had long been in preparation "ever since in 1902-1903, Professor James Harvey Robinson, when my mind was still in the making, suggested the study of magic in medieval universities as the subject of my thesis for the master's degree." To Thorndike magic and experimental science were connected in their development, and magicians were perhaps the first to experiment; and so he began his treatment with early man and carried it on, through successive volumes embodying the results of meticulous research, into the modern period. Numerous other books and monographs on various aspects of medieval science were written during a long and fruitful career of distinguished scholarship that received frequent recognition from learned societies and universities here and abroad.

Lynn Thorndike's students, like the world of learning at large, recognized and honored his massive achievements in scholarship, but they remember him with special warmth and gratitude as the unfailingly generous and kindly director of their studies and molders of their careers.

John Miller, jr., deputy chief historian for the Office of Military History, died January 7, 1966, at the age of fifty.

Marshall M. Knappen, a professor at Western Michigan University, died January 17, at the age of sixty-five. His varied career covered both the fields of religion and education. He won praise for his *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* and *And Call It Peace*. The latter work was a critical analysis of German re-education as planned by the American Military Government, and it reflected Knappen's experience as deputy chief of the education section from 1942 to 1946.

Richard G. Salomon, former professor at Kenyon College, died February 3, at the age of eighty-one. Just a few days before his death he completed the editing of Latin court documents and letters concerning a conflict between the Church and the city council of Hamburg, Germany, in the fourteenth century.

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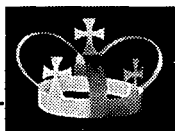
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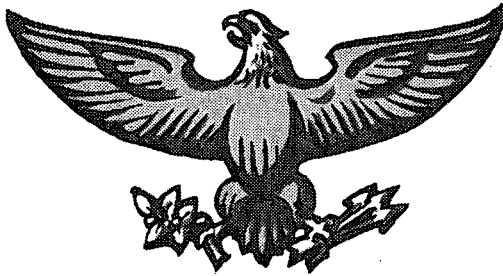
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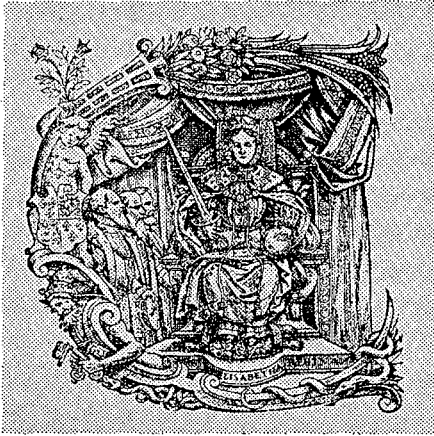
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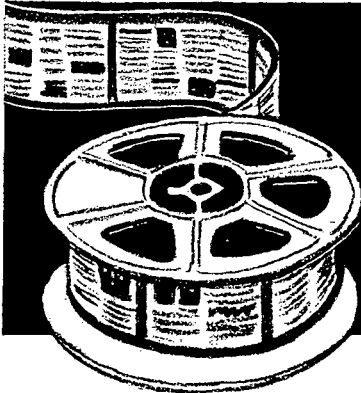
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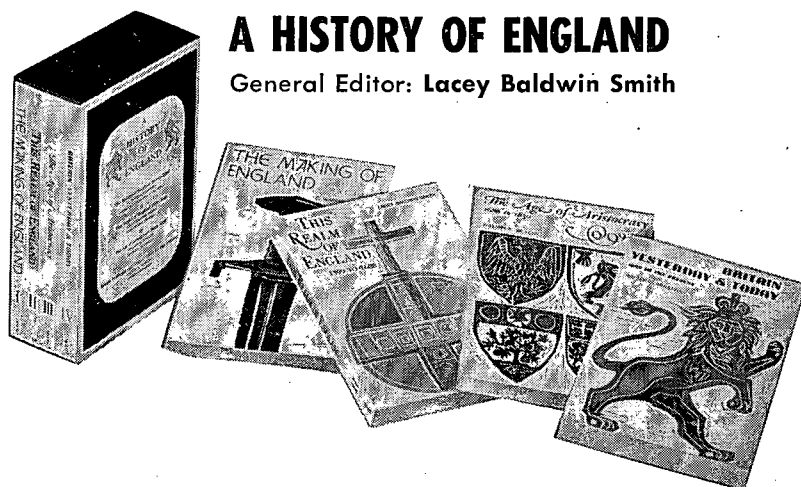
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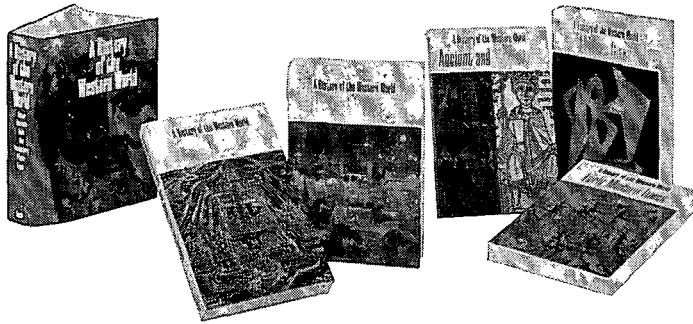
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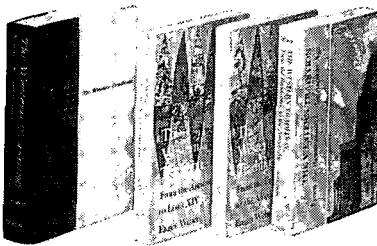
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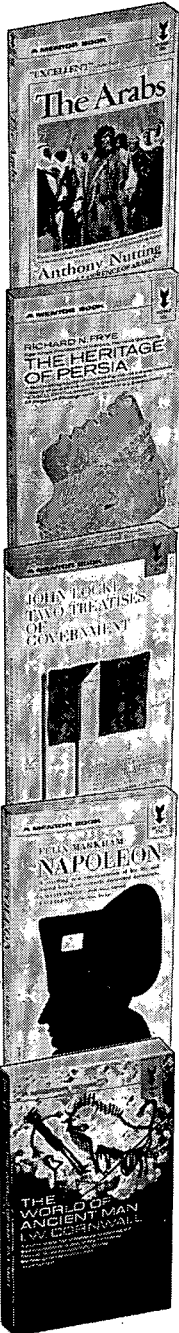
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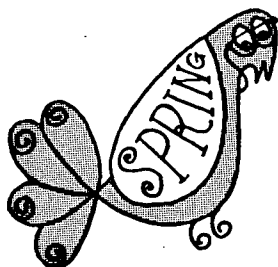
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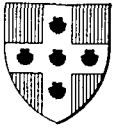
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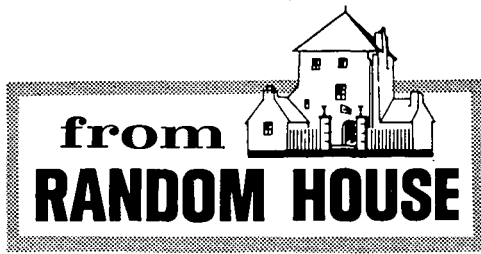
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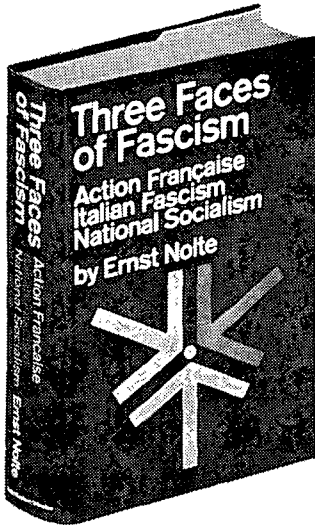
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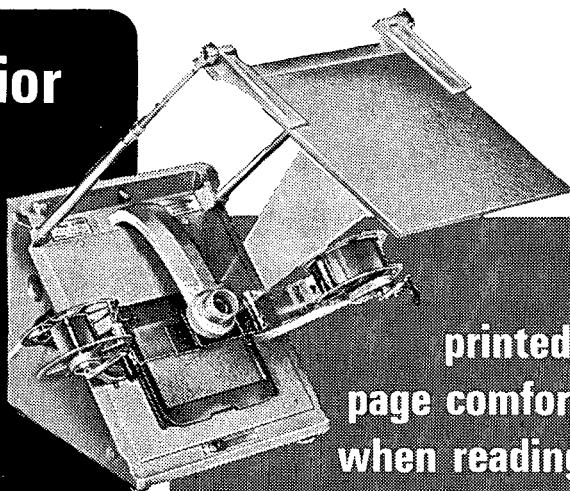
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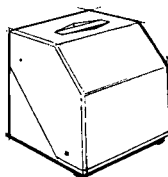
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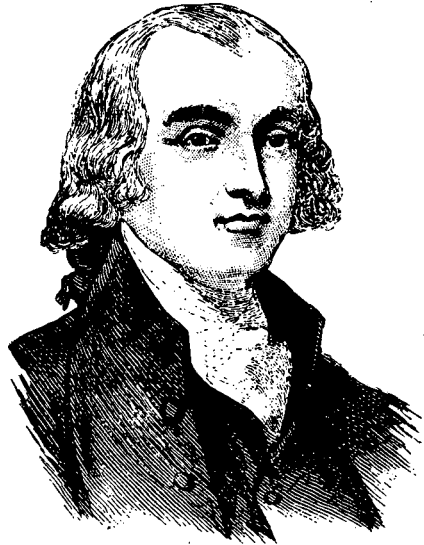
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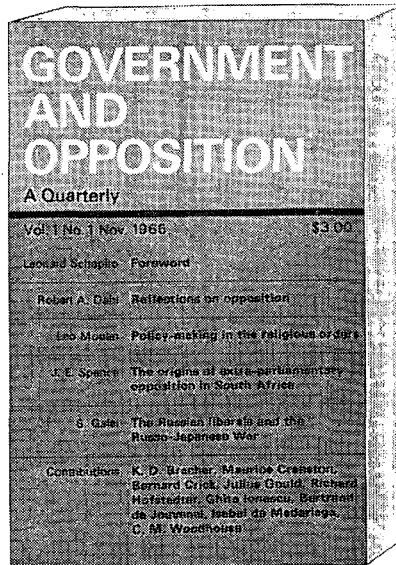
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